DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 301 889 CS 211 615

AUTHOR Holopainen, Veli, Ed.
TITLE Case Studies on International Norms and Journalism. Publications Series B, Number 22.
INSTITUTION Tampere Univ. (Finland). Inst. of Journalism and Mass Communication.
REPORT NO ISBN-951-44-2134-5
PUB DATE 87
NOTE 99p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; Civil Liberties; Developed Nations; *Developing Nations; Foreign Countries; *International Law; *Journalism; *Mass Media Role; Media Research; *Newspapers; *Norms; Peace; Self Determination
IDENTIFIERS Finland; *UNESCO

ABSTRACT

The first part of this report summarizes a master's thesis study on the observance of international law in two newspapers. The study was based on an inventory of 71 international legal documents, suggesting a set of journalistic principles and rules. The observance of these norms was tested by analyzing some 6,000 news items and articles from two Finnish newspapers, "The Times" and "Helsingin Sanomat," between 1944 and 1984. The study concluded that there are two connections between journalism and international law: (1) the media must not incite to and propagate international crimes; and (2) the media should encourage and favor beneficial international action. An appendix to the study provides a list of international legal documents. The second part of the report considers a study of nine media from seven countries. A short time period of each medium's coverage was studied in order to verify each item's relevance to the topics of the 1978 Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO. A content analysis then examined each relevant item to see whether it was positively, neutrally, or negatively inclined to the aims of the Declaration. The study concluded that Western media and the media of the Third World have different ways of covering topics relevant to the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO. (MS)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Veli Hotopainen

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

	Sarja	Series
A	Tutkimuksia	Studies
B	Raportteja	Reports
C	Keskusteluja ja katsauksia	Discussion and reviews
D	Opetusmonisteita	Textbook materials
E	Bibliografioita ja luetteloita	Bibliographies and catalogues

Julkaisuja — Sarja B
Publications — Series

Veli Heiopainen (ed.) 22/1987

CASE STUDIES ON INTERNATIONAL NORMS AND JOURNALISM

TAMPEREEN YLIOPISTO · TIEDOTUSOPIN LAITOS

UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE
DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

Holopainen, Veli (ed.)

Case studies on international norms and journalism / ed. by Veli Holopainen. - Tampere : University of Tampere, 1987. - 96 p. - (University of Tampere. Department of Journalism and Mass Communication. Publications. Series B, ISSN 0358-4151 ; 22/1987).
ISBN 951-44-2134-5

The first part of this report summarizes a Master's thesis by Veli Holopainen on the observance of international law in two newspapers. The study is based on an inventory of 71 international legal documents, suggesting a set of journalistic principles and rules. The observance of these norms was then tested by analysing some 6000 news items and articles from The Times and Helsingin Sanomat between 1944 and 1984.

The second part reports on a study of nine media from seven countries. A short period of each medium's coverage is studied in order to check each item's relevance to the topics of the 1978 Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO. A content analysis is then carried out on each relevant item to see whether it is positively, neutrally or negatively inclined to the aims of the Declaration.

ISBN 951-44-2134-5
ISSN 0358-4151

TAMPEREEN YLIOPISTO
Jäljennepalvelu
Tampere 1987

CONTENTS

Page

PART I

INTERNATIONAL NORMS AND THEIR OBSERVANCE IN TWO NEWSPAPERS

1. INTRODUCTION 7
2. INTERNATIONAL LAW 8
   2.1 Interpreting International Law 8
   2.2 Maintaining International Peace and Security 9
   2.3 Respect for the Self-determination of Peoples 11
   2.4 Respect for Human Rights 12
3. THE NORMS IN THE COVERAGE OF
   THE TIMES AND HELSINGIN SANOMAT 14
   3.1 An Overview 14
   3.2 An Example 18
4. CONCLUSIONS 21
   REFERENCES 29
   APPENDIX: List of International Legal Documents 29

PART II

THE RELEVANCE OF THE MASS MEDIA DECLARATION
IN SELECTED MEDIA FROM SEVEN COUNTRIES

1. INTRODUCTION 33
2. INTERPRETING THE MASS MEDIA DECLARATION 34
3. THE MEDIA IN THIS STUDY 38
4. ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIA 41
   4.1 Statistics 41
   4.2 Helsingin Sanomat, Finland (by Veli Holopainen) 45
   4.3 Excelsior, Mexico (by José Marquez) 53
   4.4 El Mercurio, Chile (by Jose Marquez) 58
   4.5 The Ethiopian Herald, Ethiopia (by Linus Atarah) 63
   4.6 The Ghanaian Times, Ghana (by Linus Atarah) 67
   4.7 Daily News, Tanzania (by Linus Atarah) 70
   4.8 Windhoek Advertiser (by Kayele M. Kambombo) 76
   4.9 South West African Broadcasting Corporation,
   Namibia (by Johannes Amupala) 81
   4.10 Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
   (by Johannes Amupala) 87
5. OVERVIEW OF THE RESULTS 92

PART I

INTERNATIONAL NORMS AND THEIR OBSERVANCE IN TWO NEWSPAPERS

A Summary of a Master's Thesis in Social Sciences at the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere.

by Veli Holopainen

1. INTRODUCTION

In November 1978 UNESCO adopted by acclamation the Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War. This document is better known as the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO. In Finland, the preparation and adoption of this document stimulated academic studies on international legal norms and ethics of journalism, led by Professor Kaarle Nordenstreng and Licentiate of Law (presently acting Professor) Lauri Hannikainen. The project has produced a number of publications, the major being a documentary book (see References, 7).

The study which is here summarized is an offspring of this project. Originally it was presented as a Master's Thesis in social sciences at the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Tampere (4). In spring 1987 a student group led by Kaarle Nordenstreng and Veli Holopainen continued the work with a case study on several newspapers. The results of this case study are reported below in PART II.

The purpose of the present study was, firstly, to bring together and state as clearly as possible the norms and standards set by the present international law for journalism, especially for what should and what should not be expressed in the mass media. Secondly, through systematic content analysis, the purpose was to determine to what extend these norms are respected in actual newspaper articles. Thirdly, the study aimed to give some general hints about how breaches of this kind might be avoided and corrected.

2. INTERNATIONAL LAW

2.1 Interpreting International Law

International law is studied here only as it appears in international legal documents. 71 international legal documents are used, including 16 multilateral treaties or conventions, 5 regional or bilateral treaties, 3 draft treaties, 11 UN General Assembly declarations, 4 UNESCO General Conference declarations, 7 declarations by other international bodies, 2 draft declarations of UN, 15 UN General Assembly resolutions, 6 UNESCO General Conference resolutions and 2 reports by working groups of UNESCO. (A list of these documents is attached as an Appendix on pp. 25 - 30.) The collection of documents is based on the study on journalistic ethics and international law by Antti Alanen (1) and collections of documents by Edward W. Ploman (9) and the IOJ (6).

All documents are interpreted according to the provisions of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties of 1969. The international legal thinking in this study is mostly guided by the writings of Lauri Hannikainen, Milan Sahovic, Grigory I. Tunkin and Bengt Broms (3,10,11,2).

The study is limited to three main areas of international law:

1. Maintaining international peace and security.
2. Respect for the self-determination of peoples.
3. Respect for human rights.

Beyond the scope of this study remain, for example, the regulation of international environments (high seas, space, Antarctic) and international regulation of natural resources. Moreover, the third area was limited to two very grave violations of human rights: genocide, and racial discrimination and apartheid. For more comprehensive inventories of international legal norms and standards relevant to the mass media, see (7, 9).

International law is considered to consist of a set of interdependent norms. The norms are ranked according to their bindingness from absolutely binding jus cogens to mere recommendations. Most norms about journalism are recommendations, but there are also those which have a binding character.

In this study a norm is considered to be strongly binding if:

- it is clearly stated in the UN Charter or in the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;
- it is clearly stated in at least one multilateral treaty which is in force in more than 80 states; or
- using interpretations provided by later documents, the rule can be clearly derived from documents of the preceding two categories.

These strong norms are later referred to with the formula 'The media must'. Other, less binding norms are referred to with the formula 'The media should'.

2.2 Maintaining International Peace and Security

The First Article of the UN Charter states as one of the main purposes of the organization to "maintain international peace and security". The strictest norm in this area of international law is the jus cogens prohibition of wars of aggression (3). From this norm, as well as from various international legal documents, comes the corresponding norm for the mass media: the prohibition of war propaganda. War propaganda was widely discussed already in 1964 by Whitton & Larson (12). The prohibition is almost a jus cogens norm. To make it more clear, it can be divided as follows:

The media must:

1. Abstain from inciting any government or people to a war of aggression or an armed attack.
2. Abstain from trying to make the public opinion favourable to a war of aggression.

Apart from these strong norms, there are many international recommendations for journalists concerning maintenance of international peace and security.

The media should:

1. Abstain from appealing to audiences for wars of aggression.
2. Abstain from idealizing war and from describing aggression or war as justifiable, necessary or inevitable.
3. Not recognize as legal any occupation or acquisition attained by the use or threat of use of force.
4. Not encourage the use of any measures to coerce a state in order to obtain from it the subordination of its sovereign rights.

Attack with conventional arms is a crime under international law. Nuclear attack and nuclear war are considered to be yet graver crimes against humanity. Thus there is a wider norm for journalists, whereby the media should:

5. Abstain from formulating, propounding, disseminating and propagating political and military doctrines and concepts intended to provide 'legitimacy' for the first use of nuclear weapons and in general to justify the 'admissibility' of unleashing nuclear war.

The list could be continued with a number of still less binding norms, which have a positive character. Accordingly, the media have an overall responsibility to work actively for the maintenance of peace. They are encouraged to use their

influence to ease international conflicts by spreading correct information about tensions, by acting as a channel of information between parties to a tense situation, and by spreading information about national and international endeavours towards conflict resolution. The media are encouraged to further international peace and security by developing public opinion favourable to peace and by spreading information about endeavours to maintain and further peace. The media are also encouraged to further disarmament.

2.3 Respect for the Self-determination of Peoples

According to the UN Charter, one of the purposes of the organization is to "develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace".

There are two aspects to this purpose. One is the protection of states from interference in their internal affairs. The other is the right of oppressed peoples to self-determination. Concerning the first aspect, the media must

1. Abstain from inciting to revolutionary or other forcible overthrow of a legal government in a foreign state.
2. Abstain from inciting a part of the population of a foreign state against a legal government of the state.
3. Abstain from incitement to terrorism.

The media should:

1. Abstain from efforts to weaken the position of the legal government of another state.

Two things must be noted. First, international law does not give similar protection to one's own government. Second, international law does not protect governments that are internationally considered as illegal.

The second group of norms on self-determination of peoples concerns colonialism, neo-colonialism, development and respect for all cultures.

The media should:

2. Inform the public about the evils of colonialism and neo-colonialism and about international efforts to eradicate them.
3. Work against colonialism and neo-colonialism.
4. Inform the public about development and needs of developing states and international efforts towards development.
5. Support national and international efforts towards development.
6. Respect cultural identities and the right of each culture to spread information about itself.
7. Spread objective information about different cultures and treat cultures as equals.
8. Support cultures that are otherwise in danger of extinction.

2.4 Respect for Human Rights

The UN Charter states as a purpose of the organization to "achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

From the broad area of human rights, the present study focuses on two very grave violations, namely genocide, and apartheid racial discrimination.

International law regulated genocide in strict terms in the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Later documents carry relating norms that are not as well established. These less established rules are formulated exactly like corresponding rules regulating racial discrimination; they can be read in the next paragraphs by replacing 'race' with 'group of persons'.

The media must:

1. Abstain from incitement to genocide.

International law on racial discrimination is incorporated in the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and in the 1973 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. The two human rights covenants of 1966 also include most of these provisions.

The media must:

2. Abstain from incitement to racial discrimination and to acts of violence against any race.
3. Abstain from propaganda that is based on ideas or theories of the superiority of one race or group of persons over others.
4. Abstain from justifying, promoting and encouraging racial discrimination, racial hatred or apartheid.

The media should:

1. Abstain from spreading stereotypic or slanted descriptions about races.
2. Respect the rights and worth of all races and spread information to lessen the possibility of misunderstandings and prejudice against races.
3. Give oppressed races a chance to express themselves.

3. THE NORMS IN THE COVERAGE OF THE TIMES AND HELSINGIN SANOMAT

3.1 An Overview

The Times enjoys wide international recognition as a responsible and reliable newspaper. Helsingin Sanomat, the biggest daily in Finland, enjoys similar esteem in the Finnish context. These two newspapers are chosen for closer analysis because they are assumed to represent a high standard of journalism and respect for international law. The analysis is limited to the issues published in 1944, 1954, 1964, 1974 and 1984, and to stories about the Middle East, South Africa and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). These three themes are selected because of their obvious relevance to the norms in question. Altogether, 5930 stories are analysed, 3497 from The Times and 2433 from Helsingin Sanomat.

All stories that the author judges, to the best of his understanding, to be in contradiction with one or more of the norms are counted as violations. The word 'violation' is used here in a very wide sense: the count also includes stories which were published before a certain norm was clearly stated in international documents. Additionally, it includes breaches of rules that are not strictly binding ('The media should' norms).

Out of the 5930 stories, 113 (1.9 percent) fail to comply with international legal norms. Only four violations of strong norms are detected, all of them in the area of racial discrimination. The four stories either incite to racial discrimination or propagate ideas based on the superiority of one race over another. One of them is given as an example below.

The yearly totals of stories breaching the rules in The Times and Helsingin Sanomat are given in the following two tables:

Helsingin Sanomat	1944	1954	1964	1974	1984	total
violations	7	23	13	10	5	58
violations % of stories	17.5	8.6	5.7	1.3	0.4	2.4

The Times	1944	1954	1964	1974	1984	total
violations	6	12	20	11	6	55
violations % of stories	3.3	1.8	4.0	1.2	0.5	1.6

The following table (on next page) gives totals of violations in each of the three main areas of international law. (The total 117 in this table does not equal with the total in the previous table 113, because there are four stories that breached rules of two different groups.)

	1944	1954	1964	1974	1984	total
MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY						
Helsingin Sanomat	3	7	4	5	2	21
The Times	0	2	3	5	1	11
total	3	9	7	10	3	32
RESPECT FOR THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES						
Helsingin Sanomat	3	13	5	4	2	27
The Times	4	5	6	3	0	18
total	7	18	11	7	2	45
RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS						
Helsingin Sanomat	1	3	5	1	1	11
The Times	2	5	12	5	5	29
total	3	8	17	6	6	40
TOTAL						
	13	35	35	23	11	117

The tables show clearly that the frequency of violations has decreased since 1944, even though at the same time there has been a dramatic increase in the total number of stories written on the three selected topics.

The norms on maintaining international peace and security are among the oldest and most established in international law. These norms are violated least in the two newspapers. In the area of self-determination of peoples, there is a peak in the number violations in 1954 and in the area of human rights

in 1964. This finding coincides with the fact that the most central international documents on human rights are the two human rights conventions of 1966, whereas the right to self-determination was mainly discussed in the United Nations in the late 1950s. This discussion let to the drawing up of the key document in this area, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in December 1960.

In more detail, the norms that were violated most often were those concerning racial discrimination (25 violations in The Times, 8 in Helsingin Sanomat) and those concerning colonialism and neo-colonialism (13 violations in The Times, 19 in Helsingin Sanomat). The most common single violation was the recognition of the independence of the bantustans (homelands) formed by the Republic of South Africa. The following table shows the violations of rules concerning racial discrimination:

	1944	1954	1964	1974	1984	total
Helsingin Sanomat	0	2	4	1	1	8
% of stories on S. Africa	0	22.2	9.7	2.3	1.1	4.2
The Times	0	4	11	5	5	25
% of stories on S. Africa	0	4.8	5.9	2.9	1.7	3.1

The percentages of stories on South Africa (including Namibia) are included in the table to show that the decrease in the frequency of violations is greater than it seems on the basis of bare counts. Practically all violations in the area of racial discrimination are in the stories about South Africa.

Some norms are not violated. There are no cases of incitement to war or incitement to genocide in the material. Less serious related offences are rather common. For example, there are 8 incidences of justifying or idealizing war, one case of representing war as inevitable, and 4 cases of recognizing an occupation as legal. No incitement to violent overthrow of a legal government in another state or incitement to terrorism is recorded.

Some norms turn out to be so vague that it is not possible to detect violations. For example, the recommendations to further disarmament are so broad that no clear offences are recorded.

3.2 An Example

On May 4th, 1984, The Times published an extract from a lecture given by Edward Norman, the Dean of Peterhouse, Cambridge. The text carried the headline 'Apart, not apartheid' (copy reproduced on next page).

Mr. Norman takes great pains to justify the scheme of separate development (so-called homelands or bantustans) of the Republic of South Africa. He holds that white and black people should be kept separate, and no united state should be formed of so profoundly different cultures. Internationally, though, the separate development is part of apartheid, a system of racial discrimination that has no justification. The text is so outspoken that it can be considered to amount to incitement to racial discrimination.

The Dean states as his opinion that the homelands policy is not oppressive but is mistaken. He concludes:

Apart, not apartheid

Those who would seek a balanced assessment of the problems of South Africa should begin by recognising that a genuine difficulty exists. Too many observers of the South African scene are so confident that the basic cause of trouble resides in white material self-interest, and the consequent denial of rights to the black populations, that they are unable to discern any other underlying condition. But the truth about South Africa is that it has encountered a dilemma which, almost everywhere else it has occurred in history, has proved to be unresolvable by peaceful means. The dilemma is this: how to create a unitary state out of diverse cultural elements.

The scheme of separate development, has, it seemed, so particularly offensive to western liberal opinion precisely because the cultural elements left out of the unitary state are defined in racial terms, and thus coincidentally institutionalise racism along with cultural pluralism. But there is no way of avoiding the real existence of cultural diversities, dissimilar social organisations, divergent expectations, and very genuine degrees of progressive advancement between the white and the black ethnic groups. Even a century ago, separate development, would hardly seemed the obvious solution, and it was indeed the more liberal among the white Christian missionaries who first suggested it, as a way of protecting the ethnic cultures of black society.

In the middle years of the present century, however, liberal opinion has tended to favour integration - all persons living within the old area of the Union of South Africa were somehow to be educated and socially conditioned so that they could become a single constituent of a unitary liberal state.

Hence the contemporary approval for what is usually referred to as "the pluralist society". It is a very uncooperative term, intended to cover different creeds, moral ideas and personal customs, existing within a single society, as well as ethnic differences. But it is a concept which can only operate on a temporary basis, as it describes a society intermediate from one set of social orthodoxies to another - and it certainly only operates where the divisive elements of the plurality are actually differentially numbered to agree about the rules of the game. These conditions do not exist in South Africa; they are, in fact, extremely rare anywhere in the world except in the developed western nations. The normal pattern of the modern world, as in the past, has been enforced social uniformity, or the recognition that many of the peoples living under a single government are not parts of society, and are, accordingly, relegated to its periphery. Countries organised around a single political ideology or national focal have not been amenable for them, sensitivity to cultural diversities. Consider the fate of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, or the collapse of the British attempt at a unitary state in Cyprus, or - and this is the best case to lay before the South African dilemma - the single-tribe governments of black independent countries in Africa.

The continued existence of cultural diversity in South Africa is sometimes blamed on the South Africans themselves. Had they spent more time and financial resources on educating blacks in the past, it is contended, real differences between black and white would not now be so marked. It is certainly true that blacks living and working in urban areas are beginning to assimilate to the white material culture and the more progressive of black political leaders and churchmen have adopted very western concepts of society and the state. But the process is uneven and universally elitist. The larger part of black South African society is still broken up into very diverse cultural contexts. Even the westernised urban workers frequently revert to different languages and social customs at their own homes.

The whole influence of the new western emphasis on the preservation of ethnic cultures further means that legitimates the divisions. Black consciousness in South Africa derives from a contemporary sense that mere racial uniformity is undesirable - what is needed is a black culture for a black country. It is at this point in the sophistication of white liberalism as Afrikanerdom to see the reason of an ethnic mission.

The policy of apartheid is historically very familiar - it is the development for different cultural and religious groups within a single territory, sometimes even for the South African Homelands policy is not oppressive but is mistaken, and my own belief also, is that apartheid is not the appropriate way of solving the problem of a multi-cultural society living within the geographical area of a unitary state. I find the whole strategy of apartheid highly artificial, probably impossible to carry out anyway, due to the continued growth of black urban populations, and in itself undesirable since it is inefficient to educated blacks who have assimilated to western culture and are therefore denied citizenship solely because of their ethnic categorisation.

But what is the alternative? To deny that a problem exists, and to concede majority rule in South African terms, undesirable. It would also produce results - internal disharmony and commercial decline, Rhodesia - of a sort which would unquestionably worsen the condition of South Africa's blacks. It is both the ideals and the long-term interest of a pluralistic society without an established majority, the best course is probably to leave well alone and let the elements enter the scene and alter the terms of reference. That is actually quite a fruitful possibility.

The truth about white South Africa is that despite its advanced technology it is really a very old fashioned society. In political, social, moral and religious attitudes it is still some decades behind the rest of the western world. So concerned with the pre-occupations with inheritance from the past - in the hands of the English speaking Afrikaner nationalism managed to endear white South Africa from overtly sexual trends in liberal societies elsewhere that the preservation of external attitudes could never be entirely attested, and there are all the signs that the process is accelerating.

The best service the western nations, and the western Christian conscience can perform in this connection is not to tighten living in South Africa so as to bring it by moderation and sanctions but to assist its assimilation in prosperity - the very kinds of which take America as the South will keep the presence of

EST COPY AVAILABLE

> But what is the alternative? To deny that a problem exists, and to concede majority rule is, in South African terms, unthinkable. It would also produce results - internal dislocation and continental destabilization - of a sort which would unquestionably worsen the condition of South Africa's blacks, in both the short and the long term. As it is a problem without an available solution, the best course is probably to leave well alone until other elements enter the scene and alter the terms of reference. That is actually quite a fruitful possibility.

Further, the Dean maintains that the discrimination of blacks in South Africa is not significant, because democracy is not well developed in countries ruled by black majorities, either.

Considering the text as such, it is obvious that it constitutes a violation of quite a strong rule of international law. Whether The Times should be considered responsible for the violation is a delicate question. Crucial in this respect is the way of presenting the text in the paper. As the text is signed by an individual, it certainly cannot be considered as an opinion of the paper. On the other hand, given the strong character of the text, one would expect an editorial hint that the text is an exposer of a variety of opinions. There is no such hint to be found for a normal reader; the article is not displayed as a letter to the editor or corresponding opinion, but on the contrary, appears as an authoritative position, to which The Times has wielded its space. Consequently, the case is judged to constitute a violation of an international norm.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The international law concerning journalism prior to the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO is extensive. Two connections between journalism and international law in general are clearly suggested:

1. The media must not incite to and propagate international crimes.
2. The media should encourage and favour beneficial international action.

There are also some quite independent norms for journalism. One such norm is the prohibition of incitement to a revolution against the legal government of another state. The action whose propagation is prohibited is not as such a crime under international law.

The international law concerning the media has traditionally not been included in the ethical codes created by media and journalist organizations. Still, most of the norms (here stated as 'the media <u>should</u>' norms) are of an ethical nature. In the most recent ethical codes they have been noticed. Significantly, the ninth of the International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism, issued by the consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of working journalists in 1983 (8) incorporates almost every aspect of international law for the media:

> The ethical commitment to the universal values of humanism calls for the journalist to abstain from any justification for, or incitement to, wars of aggression and the arms race, especially in nuclear weapons, and all other forms of violence, hatred or discrimination, especially racialism and apartheid, oppression by tyrannic regimes, colonialism and neocolonialism, as well as

> other great evils which afflict humanity, such as poverty, malnutrition and diseases. By so doing, the journalist can help eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding among peoples, make nationals of a country sensitive to the needs and desires of others, ensure the respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, language, nationality, religion or philosophical conviction.

On an average, international law is breached in the stories about the Middle East, the CSCE or South Africa in The Times or Helsingin Sanomat twice a month in 1944 - 1984. However, the violations become significantly rarer in the course of years. Helsingin Sanomat has more breaches (as percentage of yearly totals of stories) than The Times. In many cases, The Times respects the norms even before they are clearly stated in some international document, whereas Helsingin Sanomat begins to obey each norm more or less at the same time as it is incorporated in international documents. (This conclusion is based on a detailed analysis which is carried out in the original study but which is not presented in this summary.) This may have been due to familiarity with international law, or it may be that the changes in the ethical thinking of a journalist staff and codification of related international law for some other reason happen simultaneously.

All breaches could have been avoided. In some cases simply a more objective description of an event would have been enough. Further breaches of international norms could be avoided by a consistent information effort of national and international journalist organizations to promote international legal and ethical thinking among journalists.

REFERENCES:

1. ALANEN, Antti: Journalistien eettiset säännöt ja kansainvälinen oikeus. (Ethical Codes of Journalists and International Law, in Finnish.) Master's Thesis at the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere. Tampere 1978.

2. BROMS, Bengt: Kansainvälinen oikeus. (International Law, in Finnish.) Helsinki: Suomalainen Lakimiesyhdistys 1978.

3. HANNIKAINEN, Lauri: Prohibition of War Propaganda. In NORDENSTRENG 1984.

4. HOLOPAINEN, Veli: Toimittajan kansainvälinen vastuu - joukkotiedotuksen sisältöä koskevat kansainvälisen oikeuden säännökset ja säännösten rikkominen kahdessa sanomalehdessä. (The International Responsibility of Journalists - International Legal Norms on the Content of Mass Communication and Breaches of the Norms in Two Newspapers, in Finnish.) Master's Thesis at the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere. Tampere 1986.

5. KIVIKURU, Ullamaija & VARIS, Tapio (eds.): Approaches to International Communication. Textbook for journalism education. Helsinki: Finnish National Commission for UNESCO 1986.

6. NEW International Information and Communication Order: Sourcebook. Prague: International Organization of Journalists 1986.

7. NORDENSTRENG, Kaarle: The Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO. Norwood: Ablex 1984. (With Lauri HANNIKAINEN.)

8. NORDENSTRENG, Kaarle: Professionalism in Transition: Journalistic Ethics. In KIVIKURU & VARIS 1986.

9. PLOMAN, Edward W.: International Law Governing Communications and Information. A Collection of Basic Documents. London: Francespinter 1982.

10. SAHOVIC, Milan (ed.): Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation. New York: Oceana Publications 1972.
11. TUNKIN, Grigory I.: Theory of International Law. London: George Allen & Unwin 1974.
12. WHITTON, John B. & LARSON, Arthur: Propaganda: Towards Disarmament in the War of Words. New York: Oceana Publications 1964.

APPENDIX: List of International Legal Documents

International Treaties, Conventions and Charters:

1. Treaty of Paris (Kellogg-Briand). Paris 27.8.1928.
2. International Convention Concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace. Geneva 23.9.1936.
3. Charter of the United Nations. San Francisco 26.6.1945.
4. Statute of the International Court of Justice. San Francisco 26.6.1945.
5. Charter of the International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg). London 8.8.1945.
6. Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). London 16.11.1945.
7. Charter for the Establishment of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (Tokyo). Tokyo 19.1.1946.
8. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. New York 9.12.1948.
9. Convention on the International Right of Correction. New York 16.12.1952.
10. Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. Moscow 5.8.1963.
11. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. New York 21.12.1965.
12. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. New York 16.12.1966.
13. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. New York 16.12.1966.
14. Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. Moscow - London - Washington 27.1.1967.
15. Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties. Vienna 23.5.1969.

16. International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. New York 30.11.1973.

Regional Conventions:

17. Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Council of Europe). Rome 4.11.1950.
18. American Convention on Human Rights (Inter-American Specialised Conference on Human Rights). San José 22.11.1969.
19. African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Organization of African Unity). Nairobi 24.-27.6.1981.

Treaties Concerning Specifically Finland:

20. Peace Treaty with Finland. Paris 16.1.1947.
21. Sopimus ystävyydestä, yhteistoiminnasta ja keskinäisestä avunannosta Suomen Tasavallan ja Sosialististen Neuvostotasavaltojen Liiton välillä. (Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Republic of Finland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in Finnish and in Russian.) Moscow 6.4.1948.

Draft Treaties:

22. Draft Code of Offences against the Peace and Security of Mankind. New York 1955.
23. Draft Convention on Freedom of Information. New York 1948-1961.
24. Draft Convention on the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear Weapons. New York 1982.

Declarations of the UN General Assembly:

25. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. New York 10.12.1948.

26. Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. New York 14.12.1960.
27. Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples. New York 7.12.1965.
28. Declaration on Social Progress and Development. New York 11.12.1969.
29. Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. New York 24.10.1970.
30. Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (UN General Assembly, Sixth Special Session). New York 1.5.1974.
31. Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. New York 12.12.1974.
32. Definition of Aggression. New York 14.12.1974.
33. Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. New York 15.12.1978.
34. Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States. New York 9.12.1981.
35. Declaration on the Condemnation of Nuclear War. New York 15.12.1983.

Declarations of the UNESCO General Conference:

36. Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation. Paris 4.11.1966.
37. Declaration of Guiding Principles on the Use of Satellite Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education and Greater Cultural Exchange. Paris 15.11.1972.
38. Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice. Paris 27.11.1978.
39. Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and

International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War. Paris 28.11.1978.

Declarations of other International Organs:

40. Declaration against War Propaganda (The Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference). Geneva 25.5.1962.
41. Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Final Act. Helsinki 1.8.1975.
42. The San José Declaration (Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean). San José 21.7.1976.
43. The Kuala Lumpur Declaration (Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Asia and Oceania). Kuala Lumpur 14.2.1978.
44. The Yaounde Declaration (Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Africa). Yaounde 31.7.1980.
45. Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies (World Conference on Cultural Policies). Mexico City 6.8.1982.
46. Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting 1980 of Representatives of the Participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Held on the Basis of the Provisions of the Final Act Relating to the Follow-up to the Conference. Madrid 6.9.1983.

Draft Declarations:

47. Draft International Code of Ethics for Information Personnel. New York 1952.
48. Draft Declaration on Freedom of Information. New York 1959-1960.

Resolutions of the UN General Assembly:

49. Resolution Affirming the Principles of International Law Recognized by the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

Resolution 95(I). New York 11.12.1946.

50. Calling of an International Conference on Freedom of Information. Resolution 59(I). New York 14.12.1946.
51. Measures to be Taken against Propaganda and the Inciters of a New War. Resolution 110(II). New York 8.11.1947.
52. False or Distorted Reports. Resolution 127(II). New York 10.11.1947.
53. Freedom of Information: Interference with Radio Signals. Resolution 424(V). New York 14.12.1950.
54. Question of False or Distorted Information. Resolution 634(VII). New York 16.12.1952.
55. Freedom of Information. Resolution 1313A-C(XIII). New York 12.12.1958.
56. Future Programme of Action for Implementation of Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Resolution 2621(XXV). New York 13.10.1970.
57. Dissemination of Information on Decolonization. Resolution 2879(XXVI). New York 20.12.1971.
58. Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Resolution 32/154. New York 19.12.1977.
59. Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly. Resolution S-10/2. New York 30.6.1978.
60. Questions Relating to Information. Resolution 33/115A-C. New York 18.12.1978.
61. Dissemination of Information on Decolonization. Resolution 35/120. New York 11.12.1980.
62. Preparation of an International Convention on Principles Governing the Use by States of Artificial Earth Satellites for Direct Television Broadcasting. Resolution 37/92. New York 10.12.1982.
63. Questions Relating to Information. Resolution 38/82. New York 15.12.1983.

Resolutions of the UNESCO General Conference:

64. Public Information and Promotion of International Understanding. Resolution 4.301. Paris 14.11.1970.
65. Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Resolution 38. Paris 19.11.1974.
66. UNESCO's Contribution to Peace and Its Tasks with Respect to the Promotion of Human Rights and the Elimination of Colonialism and Racialism: Long Term Programme of Measures whereby UNESCO can Contribute to the Strengthening of Peace. Resolution 12.1. Nairobi 29.-30.11.1976.
67. Role of UNESCO in Generating a Climate of Public Opinion Conducive to the Halting of the Arms Race and the Transition to Disarmament. Resolution 13.1. Nairobi 26.11.1976.
68. International Comission for the Study of Communication Problems. Resolution 4.19. Belgrade 21.10.1980.
69. Creation of a Climate of Public Opinion Conducive to the Halting of the Arms Race and the Transition to Disarmament. Resolution 11.1. Belgrade 24.10.1980.

Reports by Working Groups of UNESCO:

70. Recommendation on the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) (Intergovernmental Conference for Co-operation on Activities, Needs and Programmes for Communication Development). Paris 21.4.1980.
71. Many Voices, One World - Report by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (MacBride Commission). London - New York - Paris 1980.

PART II

THE RELEVANCE OF THE MASS MEDIA DECLARATION IN SELECTED MEDIA FROM SEVEN COUNTRIES

by Veli Holopainen
with Johannes Amupala, Linus Atarah,
Kayele M. Kambombo and José Marquez

1. INTRODUCTION

Nearly a decade has passed since the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War, better known as the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO. The objective of the present case study is to see how the spirit and letter of the Declaration is reflected in the actual coverage of contemporary mass media, using several newspapers and a couple of broadcasting services from seven countries as examples.

This case study was partly inspired by the ongoing research on international ethics and standards of mass communication pursued at the University of Tampere since 1978. Specifically, the present case study is follow-up of the recent Master's Thesis by Veli Holopainen on how media observe international law (summarized above in PART I).

The selection of countries and media is based on the availability of students working on related problems for their personal graduate work. The present case study should be understood as a modest contribution to a continuous debate in the field. We do not wish to give a final 'verdict' on the behaviour of each medium, nor can we give a representative picture of all media in the world.

The study was prepared under the supervision of Professor Kaarle Nordenstreng, with Veli Holopainen as the principal researcher and the following students participating in the team: Johannes Amupala (from Namibia), Linus Atarah (Ghana), Kayele M. Kambombo (Namibia) and José Marquez (Chile).

2. INTERPRETING THE MASS MEDIA DECLARATION

The Mass Media Declaration is a comprehensive but rather vague standard-setting instrument. It can be understood as defining both 'rules' for the behaviour of journalists and media, and common goals for the member States of UNESCO. The present study is limited to the 'rules'.

For the present purposes of studying whether certain newspaper articles or radio broadcasts are relevant to the Declaration and whether they observe the norms suggested by it, six main topics of the Declaration, with fifteen sub-topics, are defined as follows:

1. INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

According to Article III of the Declaration, the mass media "have an important contribution to make to the strengthening of international understanding and in countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war". Furthermore, in countering aggressive war the mass media "contribute to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between peoples ... thereby promoting the formulation by States of the policies best able to promote the reduction of international tensions and the peaceful and equitable settlement of international disputes".

According to Article VII, by "disseminating more widely all of the information concerning the universally accepted objectives and principles which are the bases of the resolutions adopted by the different organs of the United Nations, the mass media contribute effectively to the strengthening of peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights, and to the establishment of a more just and equitable international economic order". The introductory Preamble of the Declaration refers, among others, to Resolution 110(II) of the UN General Assembly, which condemns all forms of propaganda designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of peace, or act of

aggression.

Under this first main topic, five different sub-topics are separated:

1.1 United Nations
1.2 International understanding
1.3 War and peace
1.4 Disarmament and arms race
1.5 War propaganda

2. HUMAN RIGHTS

According to Article III, the mass media contribute to "ensure the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals". In countering racialism and apartheid, the mass media "contribute to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between peoples". According to Article VII "the mass media contribute effectively ... to the promotion of human rights and to the establishment of a more just and equitable international economic order".

The Preamble of the Declaration refers to the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It also refers to the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination and to the 1973 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

Within the second main topic, there are four sub-topics:

2.1 Economic and social rights
2.2 Civil and political rights
2.3 Racialism
2.4 Apartheid

3. SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES

According to Article II, the mass media "contribute to promoting human rights, in particular by giving expression to oppressed peoples who struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign occupation and all forms of racial discrimination and oppression". According to Article III, the mass media contribute "to ensure the respect of the rights and

dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals". According to Article VI, for "the establishment of a new equilibrium and greater reciprocity in the flow of information, which will be conducive to the institution of a just and lasting peace and to the economic and political independence of the developing countries, it is necessary to correct the inequalities in the flow of information to and from developing countries".

Within the third main topic, three sub-topics appear:

3.1 Colonialism and neo-colonialism

3.2 Foreign occupation

3.3 Development

4. AIMS, ASPIRATIONS, CULTURES AND NEEDS OF ALL PEOPLES

According to Article III, "the mass media, by disseminating information on the aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples, contribute to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between peoples". The fourth main topic is not separated into sub-topics.

5. GREAT EVILS THAT AFFLICT HUMANITY

According to Article III, the mass media contribute "to draw attention to the great evils which afflict humanity, such as poverty, malnutrition and diseases".

Three sub-topics appear within the fifth main topic:

5.1 Poverty

5.2 Malnutrition

5.3 Diseases

6. ASPIRATIONS OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION

According to Article IV, the mass media "have an essential part to play in the education of young people in a spirit of peace, justice, freedom, mutual respect and understanding, in order to promote human rights, equality of rights as between all human beings and all nations, and economic and social progress. Equally, they have an important role to play in making known the views and aspirations of the younger

generation". No sub-topics are distinguished within the sixth main topic.

These are the topics to which the relevance of each news item and radio bulletin is checked. The media sample included altogether 5891 news items or other distinguishable stories. Out of them 1533 were found to be relevant to at least one topic of the Declaration. Since each story can be relevant to one or more topics, the total number of relevance relationships recorded is 2050. (Table 1 on page 41 and Table 2 on page 42).

The aims set by the Mass Media Declaration were described above. For each relevant story, a content analysis was carried out to determine, whether the story is positively, neutrally or negatively inclined to these aims. The 'negative' classification does not necessarily refer to a breach of international law, but to a more or less negative inclination to the aims set by UNESCO in the Mass Media Declaration.

3. THE MEDIA IN THIS STUDY

Nine different media from seven countries are included in the study. The media are not selected on any systematic grounds of representativeness; in fact the sample is merely a collection of media which had been chosen by the students taking part in this study as the object of their own graduate work.

The sample consists of two radio stations, the Namibian SWABC and the Tanzanian RTD, and seven newspapers: two rather representative Latin American papers, four newspapers from black Africa and one West European newspaper.

Helsingin Sanomat is the largest daily in Finland with a circulation of 440 000 on weekdays, 523 000 on Sundays. The Finnish language daily was established in 1889 as a liberal paper. It is presently independent of political parties.

Excélsior, established in 1917, is not among the largest newspapers in Mexico, but it is recognised as the most prestigious. The Spanish language daily comes out in Mexico City with a circulation of 175 000. Though independent, it is ideologically close to nationalist and progressive bourgeois circles.

El Mercurio is the second largest daily in Chile. It is owned by the 'Edward clan' with Agustin Edwards as managing director. El Mercurio, established in 1827, comes out in Santiago. Its circulation is quoted 310 000 on weekdays, 360 000 on Sundays. El Mercurio is an independent conservative newspaper, and a supporter of the Chilean military government.

The Ethiopian Herald is published by the Ministry of Information and National Guidance, and is thus a government organ. It is published in Addis Ababa daily except on Mondays. The English language newspaper is the second largest in Ethiopia with a circulation of 6 500 copies. The Ethiopian Herald was established in 1943.

The Ghanaian Times is owned by the government. This second largest daily in Ghana comes out in Accra with a circulation of 150 000 copies. The Ghanaian Times was established in 1958.

Daily News, established in 1972, is an official newspaper of the Tanzanian government. It is the largest English language daily in Tanzania, where Kiswahili is the major language. It comes out in Dar es Salaam with a circulation of about 40 000.

Windhoek Advertiser comes out in English in Windhoek, Namibia, which is presently ruled by the Republic of South Africa. It is the largest English language newspaper in Namibia, where the major newspapers are published in Afrikaans. Windhoek Advertiser is privately owned. It is published from Monday through Friday with a circulation of 2 500. Each issue has some 8 to 12 tabloid pages.

SWABC (South West African Broadcasting Corporation), established in 1969 in Namibia, broadcasts daily on seven radio channels in eleven languages. In this study we are concerned with the programmes of the Oshiwambo Service. In 1983 there were approximately 48 000 radio receivers in Namibia. SWABC is government-owned and the only official broadcaster in the country - SWAPO broadcasts its programmes from the neighbouring countries.

RTD (Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam), established in 1951, is the Tanzanian government's broadcasting organization on the mainland. RTD's National Service, which is used in this study, broadcasts in Kiswahili. RTD also broadcasts abroad in English, Afrikaans and various other languages used in South Africa and Namibia.

The material of our study consists of the issues of the seven newspapers from 7th to 17th February 1987. However all issues were not available, and some of the newspapers do not come out on Saturdays or Sundays. Thus there are from 6 to 11 issues per newspaper. In the case of the two radio stations, programmes broadcast on three days were studied.

During the 11-day period in February 1987, there were few prominent international news events. An international peace forum took place in Moscow from 15th to 17th February. The trial against John Demjanjuk, who was accused of war crimes, was opened in Jerusalem on Monday the 16th. In the Lebanon, the Islamic Jihad threatened to kill four foreign hostages. Some provisions reached three besieged Lebanese refugee camps. A few clashes occurred in the Philippines.

From each of the seven newspapers, all text and pictures except classified advertisements and simple lists such as television and radio programmes are studied. Both home and foreign news pages are included, as are general and special sections (culture, sports, economy etc.). Each consistent text or advertisement including possible titles or pictures going with it is counted as one story. A separate picture without text is also counted as one story. Of the programmes of the two radio stations, only news programmes are used. Each news item is counted as one story each time it is broadcast.

The actual content analysis work (first identification of the relevant stories and then classification in relation to the aims of the Declaration) was carried out by the team so that one person was responsible for each medium. The classification criteria and other aspects of the methodology were thoroughfully defined and discussed in several sessions before and during the coding process.

Although no precise measure of inter-coder reliability was checked, the study should be seen as a typical case of customary content analysis. Accordingly, the classifications done are more or less inevitable, depending on the clarity and complexity of the categories involved. For example, there were no problems concerning the great evils that afflict humanity (topic 5), whereas international understanding and war propaganda (topics 1.2 and 1.5) did give rise to several conceptual and practical problems in the coding process. In particular, it was difficult to draw a borderline between news items relevant to international understanding (topic 1.2) and to aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples (topic 4).

4. ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIA

4.1 Statistics

The following four tables include the main results of the study in numerical form. The verbal analysis in Chapters from 4.2 to 4.10 is mostly based on these statistics.

TABLE 1. The amount of days studied and the total amount of stories from each medium. The table shows also the number of stories identified as relevant to the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO.

MEDIUM	DAYS	STORIES	RELEVANT N	RELEVANT %	RELEVANT PER DAY
Helsingin Sanomat	11	2758	422	15.3	38.4
Excélsior	6	462	210	45.5	35.0
El Mercurio	6	591	272	46.0	45.3
The Ethiopian Herald	9	366	102	27.9	11.3
The Ghanaian Times	9	643	82	12.8	9.1
Daily News	10	514	144	28.0	14.4
Windhoek Advertiser	6	211	83	39.3	13.8
SWABC	3	181	122	67.4	40.7
RTD	3	165	96	58.2	32.0
TOTAL	63	5891	1533	26.0	24.3

IABLE 2. Distribution of relevant stories in the categories of the Mass Media Declaration. The media are numbered as follows: 1. Helsingin Sanomat, 2. Excélsior, 3. El Mercurio, 4. The Ethiopian Herald, 5. The Ghanaian Times, 6. Daily News, 7. Windhoek Advertiser, 8. SWABC, 9. RTD.

TOPIC \ MEDIUM	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	TOTAL
1.1 United Nations	34	4	4	4	0	2	4	6	1	59
1.2 Understanding	168	50	84	17	6	23	12	9	24	393
1.3 Peace - war	114	56	46	24	23	26	26	8	30	353
1.4 Disarmament	45	16	24	14	8	8	3	10	5	133
1.5 War propaganda	4	0	6	0	0	0	0	3	1	14
1. TOTAL	365	126	164	59	37	59	45	36	61	952
2.1 Eco. rights	78	24	6	4	2	3	7	3	13	140
2.2 Civ. rights	100	48	72	4	2	9	7	12	9	263
2.3 Racialism	13	2	4	1	1	1	9	25	8	64
2.4 Apartheid	29	4	8	8	13	18	9	44	10	143
2. TOTAL	220	78	90	17	18	31	32	84	40	610
3.1 Colonialism	9	0	2	1	2	0	5	29	5	53
3.2 Foreign occ.	15	2	6	1	5	11	17	36	4	97
3.3 Development	10	0	0	16	13	24	4	6	10	83
3. TOTAL	34	2	8	18	20	35	26	71	19	233
4. Other peoples	73	0	4	1	2	1	6	0	8	95
5.1 Poverty	11	4	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	20
5.2 Malnutrition	16	0	2	1	3	8	2	4	0	36
5.3 Diseases	26	0	3	2	1	4	7	2	2	47
5. TOTAL	53	4	7	3	4	13	10	7	2	103
6. Younger gener.	39	0	0	4	1	5	6	0	2	57
GRAND TOTAL	784	210	273	102	82	144	125	198	132	2050

TABLE 3. Distributions of relevant stories as percent of total amount of relevancies in each medium.
The media are numbered as follows: 1. Helsingin Sanomat, 2. Excélsior, 3. El Mercurio, 4. The Ethiopian Herald, 5. The Ghanaian Times, 6. Daily News, 7. Windhoek Advertiser, 8. SWABC, 9. RTD.

MEDIUM / TOPIC	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	AVERAGE
1.1	4.3	1.9	1.5	3.9	0.0	1.4	3.2	3.0	0.8	2.8
1.2	21.4	23.8	30.8	16.7	7.3	16.0	9.6	4.5	18.2	19.7
1.3	14.5	26.7	16.8	23.5	28.0	18.1	20.8	4.0	22.7	17.2
1.4	5.7	7.6	8.8	13.7	9.8	5.6	2.4	5.1	3.8	6.5
1.5	0.5	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.8	0.7
2.1	9.9	11.4	2.2	3.9	2.4	2.1	5.6	1.5	9.8	6.8
2.2	12.8	22.9	26.4	3.9	2.4	6.3	5.6	6.1	6.8	12.8
2.3	1.7	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.2	0.7	7.2	12.6	6.1	3.1
2.4	3.7	1.9	2.9	7.8	15.9	12.5	7.2	22.2	7.6	7.0
3.1	1.1	0.0	0.7	1.0	2.4	0.0	4.0	14.6	3.8	2.6
3.2	1.9	1.0	2.2	1.0	6.1	7.6	13.6	18.2	3.0	4.7
3.3	1.3	0.0	0.0	15.7	15.9	16.7	3.2	3.0	7.6	4.0
4.	9.3	0.0	1.5	1.0	2.4	0.7	4.8	0.0	6.1	4.6
5.1	1.4	1.9	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.0	1.0
5.2	2.0	0.0	0.7	1.0	3.7	5.6	1.6	2.0	0.0	1.8
5.3	3.3	0.0	1.1	2.0	1.2	2.8	5.6	1.0	1.5	2.3
6.	5.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	1.2	3.5	4.8	0.0	1.5	2.8

TABLE 4. Percentage of relevant stories in each main topic (1 to 6), and the distributions of positive, neutral and negative relevancies within each topic.
The media are numbered as follows: 1. Helsingin Sanomat, 2. Excélsior, 3. El Mercurio, 4. The Ethiopian Herald, 5. The Ghanaian Times, 6. Daily News, 7. Windhoek Advertiser, 8. SWABC, 9. RTD.

MEDIUM	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	AVERAGE
TOPIC										
1.	46.4	60.0	60.1	57.8	45.1	41.1	36.0	18.1	46.3	46.4
POSIT	83.0	54.0	18.9	100	37.8	55.9	37.8	72.2	90.2	
NEUTR	13.2	30.9	34.1	0	62.2	44.1	0	5.6	9.8	
NEGAT	3.8	15.1	47.0	0	0	0	62.2	22.2	0	
2.	28.1	37.2	33.0	16.6	21.9	21.6	25.6	42.4	30.3	29.8
POSIT	93.2	78.2	36.7	100	100	100	31.2	27.4	82.5	
NEUTR	6.4	20.5	30.0	0	0	0	0	1.2	17.5	
NEGAT	0.4	1.3	33.3	0	0	0	68.8	71.4	0	
3.	4.3	1.0	2.9	17.7	24.4	24.3	20.8	35.8	14.4	11.4
POSIT	97.1	50.0	62.5	100	100	100	7.7	9.9	84.2	
NEUTR	2.9	50.0	37.5	0	0	0	0	0	15.8	
NEGAT	0	0	0	0	0	0	92.3	90.1	0	
4.	9.3	0.0	1.5	1.0	2.4	0.7	4.8	0.0	6.1	4.6
POSIT	89.0	-	75.0	100	100	100	100	-	25.0	
NEUTR	4.1	-	25.0	0	0	0	0	-	75.0	
NEGAT	6.9	-	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	
5.	6.7	1.9	2.5	3.0	4.9	9.1	8.0	3.5	1.5	5.0
POSIT	98.1	100	100	100	100	100	20.0	42.9	100	
NEUTR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14.3	0	
NEGAT	1.9	0	0	0	0	0	80.0	42.9	0	
6.	5.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	1.2	3.5	4.8	0.0	1.5	2.8
POSIT	92.3	-	-	100	100	100	100	-	100	
NEUTR	2.6	-	-	0	0	0	0	-	0	
NEGAT	5.1	-	-	0	0	0	0	-	0	

4.2 Helsingin Sanomat, Finland

(by Veli Holopainen)

For this study, all 11 issues of Helsingin Sanomat between and including 7th and 17th February 1987 were studied. It was found that 422 stories out of the 2758 studied are relevant to the topics of the Mass Media Declaration. Each relevant story is relevant to almost two topics, so the total number of relevancies is 784.

Helsingin Sanomat has a lot of articles relevant to international understanding in general (168 stories), to war and peace (114 stories), to political and civil rights (100 stories) and to economic and social rights (78 stories). It has least stories relevant to war propaganda (4 stories) and to colonialism and neocolonialism (9 stories).

Helsingin Sanomat complies almost always with the requests of the Mass Media Declaration. Of the 784 recorded relevancies, 694 (88.5 percent) are positively, 67 (8.5 percent) neutrally and 23 (2.9 percent) negatively inclined to the aims of the Declaration.

There are significant numbers of negative stories only in the categories of international understanding (8 negative stories out of 168 relevant), aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples (5 negative stories out of 73 relevant) and United Nations (3 negative stories out of 34 relevant).

Helsingin Sanomat is not very favourably inclined to the United Nations as an organization. There is also a tendency to write negatively of certain peoples, mainly peoples of the Soviet Union.

Apartheid and diseases are treated in a way which is very much in accordance with the Declaration; therefore all recorded relevancies are positive. Almost all stories about diseases are, not surprisingly, about the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). All recorded relevancies are also positive in the topics of poverty, development and colonialism and neocolonialism. However, due to the low frequencies, conclusions

should here be drawn with caution.

Helsingin Sanomat has quite a lot of stories about the aspirations of the younger generation. There are 39 stories on this topic, out of which 36 are positively inclined. Most of these stories are related to the international year of the homeless (1987).

Examples

First a positive example. On Sunday February 8th 1987, Helsingin Sanomat published in its foreign news section a story under the title 'Arabitietäjät kampanjoivat' ('Wise Arabs Campaigning') (copy reproduced on next page). The source of the story is not mentioned but it is probably one of the big news agencies.

The 12 centimeters long, one column story tells about a campaign by Arab historians to rectify the mistakes in western histories of Arab peoples. The story cites Secretary General of the Union of Arab Historians, Mr. Abdul Kader al-Najjar, according to whom "we must get rid of the negative opinions on Arab culture and emphasize the beneficial features rather than the ills of Arab culture".

Overall the story is favourably inclined to the campaign of Arab scientists. Thus the story well reflects Article I of the Mass Media Declaration, which mentions the strengthening of international understanding as one of the purposes of disseminating information. Secondly, the story eliminates ignorance by disseminating information on foreign cultures (topic 4).

There is however one reservation that must be made: the story is written in a rather humorous strain and placed under the section 'Maailman ihmisiä' ('People of the World'), which is usually reserved for short stories about various amusing international events. In this case the story can therefore be read either as a joke or as serious story, but we do not consider this to reverse the good intentions.

Arabitietäjät kampanjoivat

Arabihistorioitsijat ovat lähteneet avoimeen rynnäkköön länsitä, arabeja koskevaa historiankirjoitusta vastaan. Alan arabialainen liitto piti juuri yleiskokouksensa Abu Dhabissa ja päätti kirjoittaa uudelleen arabien historiaa korjatakseen epäkohtia, joihin läntiset historiantuntijat ovat liiton mielestä syyllistyneet.

Bagdadissa Irakissa päämajaansa pitävän liiton pääsihteeri Abdul Kader al-Najjar tiivisti liiton tavoitteet sanomalla, että arabikulttuuriin kohdistuneista ideiteisistä mielipiteistä on syytä päästä eroon, ja epäkohtien sijasta tulee korostaa arabikulttuurin myönteisiä piirteitä.

Vuonna 1985 perustettu liitto on päättänyt tukea sarjaa seminaareja, jotka keskittyvät pohtimaan, miten arabialaista kulttuuria on käsitelty länsimaisessa oppi- ja kaunokirjallisuudessa.

Ensimmäinen liiton sponsoroima kansainvälinen kokous pidetään 1988 Yhdysvalloissa, ja jatkoa seuraa Ranskassa, Englannissa ja Saksan liittotasavallassa. Paikallisia asiantuntijoita kutsutaan jokaiseen kokoukseen esittämään omia näkemyksiään. Päätavoite on syvarykselisten väärinkäsitysten oikominen.

The second example is of mixed contents: it is favourably inclined to certain topics of the Mass Media Declaration but unfavourably inclined to certain others. The story, written by one of the editorial writers, Mr. Martti Valkonen, was published in Helsingin Sanomat on Thursday, February 12th, in the lower right corner of the op-ed page. The story is a personal background article about the Lebanon and entitled 'Uskonsodan koko julmuus' ('The cruelty of religious war') (copy reproduced on next page).

Mr. Valkonen describes the war between Shiite Muslims and Palestinians around the refugee camps in the Lebanon and particularly the use of refugees in the struggle for power. The refugees "will suffer most and may be destroyed altogether". Valkonen tells about the hunger and destruction in the camps of Rashidiyeh, Bourj Baranjeh and Shatila.

The story is clearly concerned about the conditions and human rights of the people living in the camps. Thus it is favourably inclined to Article III of the Mass Media Declaration, which demands the media to counter violations of human rights.

The story goes on to describe the war in the Lebanon as unsolvable: "There is no tolerance in the Middle East." This is negative in the sense of Article I and Article III of the Declaration, which encourage the media to strengthen peace and to counter aggressive war (topic 1.3). Further, the story portrays Islamic and Arab peoples as innately aggressive and intolerant, thus working against the principles of the Declaration about international understanding and aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples.

In the last paragraph, Mr. Valkonen states that "the fanatic Muslims as a separate group will go a long way, because the world and the UN General Assembly, for example, consider the horrendous deeds of Arabs as a natural and even justified extension of politics". Thus the story is also somewhat against the UN.

MERKINTÖJÄ

Martti Valkonen

Uskonsodan koko julmuus

PITKÄ LEIRISOTA Libanonissa on jäänyt lähes täysin lähi-idän panttivankikiristojen varjoon. Se on jo kolmas erimielisten arabien pakolaisleireistä käyma sota. Tämä on pisin, jo neljä ja puoli kuukautta jatkunut ja yhä vain pitkittyvä — leireissähän on vielä ihmisiä hengissä.

Kiihkoislamilaisten terroristien sieppaamat panttivangit ovat ulkomaalaisia ja herättävät sen takia kiinnostusta Libanonin ulkopuolella. Pakolaisleirien väki sen sijaan on valtaosin arabeja, palestiinalaisia, eikä heille löydy maksumiehiä muiden maiden hallituksista. He ovat lyömässeitä sodassa Libanonin vallasta. He kärsivät eniten ja tuhoutuvat ehkä kokonaan.

●

Kärsimyksiä on vaikea mitata: pisimpään piiritetty Rashidiyehin pakolaisleiri on nähnyt nälkää jo puoli kuukauden ajan. Sen 22 000 asukkaasta moni on kuollut tykistötuleen ja moni on kuolemassa nälkään nyt, kun leiri on syöty tyhjäksi. Jopa alkukevään ensimmäiset heinänkorret on syöty ja maaperä kaluttu kuppuun.

Hädän syvyyttä Bourj Baranjehin leirissä kuvaa sen asukkaiden pyyntö, että heidän islamilaisen kirkkonsa johtajat antavat "fatwan", uskonnollisen käskykirjan, joka sallii ihmisihan syönnin nälkäkuoleman edessä. Maghdoushehin leiriä piirittävät iranilaismieliset hezbollahit antoivat "fatwan" leirin asukkaille, uhreilleen, suljettuaan kaikki tiet leiriin.

Useat muut leirit ovat ilmeisesti samankaltaisessa tilanteessa. Muutaman vuoden takaa verilöylystään kuuluksi tulleen Shatilan leirin 3 000 asukasta ovat viettäneet viikkoja pommisuojissa, koska jatkuva tykkituli on tehnyt leiristä rauniokasan.

●

Tietoja leirien tilasta tuovat ulkomaailmaan paenneet lapset. Bourj Baranjehin leiristä ryömi viime viikolla pakoon kaksi naista ja yhdeksän lasta kertomaan kauhuista. Rashidiyehin leiristä pääsi parr pikkupoikaa hengissä pois tykistötulen läpi. Heidän viestiään uskomsodan julmuuksista on palestiinalaisjohtaja Jasser Arafat yrittänyt saada YK:n ja turvallisuusneuvoston kuuluviin. Arabimaat eivät vain ole tulleet avuksi.

Useimmat arabimaat näyttävät antavan erimerkkisten libanonilaisten, Syyrian ja iranilaismielisten jatkaa piirityksiään, jotta leirien kymmenettuhannet palestiinalaiset saataisiin hävitetyiksi. Syytös on kova, mutta perusteista näyttää ei ole. Ei edes äskeinen arabimaiden huippukokous kallistanut korvaansa veljiensä hädälle.

●

Suvaitsevuutta ei lähi-idästä löydy. Maallistuessaan laimentunut islamilaisuus palaa taas fundamentalistien rynnäköissä aempaan, mieltä tehtävään lähetystyöhön. Osa kiihkeistä islamin soturenita etsii tosissaan johtajiensa ja koraanin lupaamaa pääsyä taistelusta paratiisiin. Sen takaa hallusinaatioita luovien huumeiden käyttö. Osa soturenita taas soitti kiristyksen uhreina ja hekin tarvitsisivat apua paästäkseen takaisin perheittensä luo.

Kiihkoislamilaiset erinäväs ryhmänä ehtivät vielä pitkälle, kunka ulkomaailma ja esimerkiksi YK:n yleiskokous pitävät arabien kauhutekoja luonnollisina ja jopa oikeutettuina politiikan jatkeina. — Eipä muuten aanekäs Arabikansojen yhtäryyssecurakaan olz suomeaan kohottanut.

Kirjoittaja on Helsingin Sanomain ulkomaantoimittaja.

49

The third example is a story published on Saturday, February 7th in the department of letters from young readers of Helsingin Sanomat. As it is not written by the journalistic staff of Helsingin Sanomat, it is of course in itself proof that Helsingin Sanomat is prepared to publish a wide variety of opinions.

The letter is entitled 'Poliittiset pakotteet on otettava käyttöön' ('Political sanctions must be applied') and signed by Kari Silventoinen (copy reproduced on next page). It is an answer to an earlier letter in which the industrial countries and multinational companies were accused as being responsible for hunger in developing countries.

The writer holds that the main reason for malnutrition lies in the inefficient use of arable land in the developing countries. If India and Ethiopia, for example, used Finnish farming methods (fertilizers and machines), these countries would no longer suffer from malnutrition. Secondly, in the case of Ethiopia, the letter puts the blame for malnutrition on the governemnt's collectivization schemes.

The letter favours international sanctions against Ethiopia and the export of Finnish farming technology to solve the problem of malnutrition. The letter is clearly ill-favoured to understanding the national efforts of India and Ethiopia to overcome hunger, for it suggests the export of farming methods that are clearly alien to these cultures and that would add to the dependence of these countries (topics 1.2 and 4). It is not quite clear whether the letter should be considered positively or negatively inclined with regard to the problem of malnutrition itself. It was counted as negative on the grounds that it favours sanctions against starving people.

None of the three examples represents the average level of reporting in Helsingin Sanomat: the first one is somewhat more positive than the 422 relevant stories in general, the next two are clearly more negative. In most cases a story in Helsingin Sanomat which is favourable to the Declaration dissemi-

Poliittiset pakotteet on otettava käyttöön

Sirulle nimimerkki *Step cone*-osio *kulmaan*. Kirjoituksessaan syytät kehitysmaiden nälästä teollisuusmaita ja monikansallisia yhtiöitä. Tällainen väite on aivan perätön. Nälän syy ei näet ole se, että viljelymaata olisi käytetty liikaa yleellisyystuotteiden tuotantoon vaan se, ettei viljelymaata ole käytetty tarpeeksi tehokkaasti hyödyksi. Esimerkiksi Intiassa on usein nälänhätää kun taas Kiinassa ei sitä ole esiintynyt vuosikymmeniin, vaikka Kiinassa elää peltohehtaarista enemmän ihmisiä kuin Intiassa. Lisäksi monilta alueilta joilta voitaisiin kerätä kaksi tai kolmekin satoa kerätään vain yksi. On myöskin huomioitava että länsimaissa saadaan kehitysmaihin verrattuna moninkertainen sato. Tämä on tehokkaiden viljelymenetelmien ansiota.

Tehottomien viljelymenetelmien lisäksi tosin ehkä monesti suurempikin syy nälänhätään on kyseessä olevien maiden hallitukset. Tästä erinomainen esimerkki on Etiopia.

Ennen vallankumousta ei Etiopiassa ollut lainkaan nälänhätää kun taas nykyään Etiopia on sitä kuuluisa. Kun tutkitaan jonkin alueiden ruuantuotantoa havaitaan, että alueille joilta ennen vietiin ruokaa joudutaan tuomaan sitä. Syynä on ruokapolitiikka ja erityisesti maan kollektivisointi. Vallankumouksen jälkeen paljon maita otettiin valtion haltuun. Näiden maiden tuotanto on nykyään paljon pienempi kuin ennen. Lisäksi viljelijöille maksetaan viljasta niin vähän ettei heidän kannata tuottaa ruokaa kuin itselleen.

Nyt voidaan siis todeta että paras tapa taistella nälänhätää vastaan on poliittiset pakotteet sellaisten maiden kuin esimerkiksi Etiopian hallitusta vastaan sekä viljelymenetelmien parantaminen kehitysmaissa. Tässä voisi olla tavoite vaikkapa Suomen kehitysavulle.

Kari Silventoinen

nates information about international affairs (for example a war) and thus adds to their understanding in Finland. In the category of neutral, we placed stories that were consciously very balanced or too short to show their general inclination.

4.3 Excélsior, Mexico

(by José Marquez)

Six issues of the Mexican newspaper Excélsior from 6th to 11th February 1987 were studied. Out of a total of 462 stories, 210 (45.5 percent) are relevant to the Mass Media Declaration. Of the relevant stories, 134 (63.8 percent) are positively inclined, 56 (26.7 percent) neutrally inclined and 20 (9.5 percent) negatively inclined to the aims of the Declaration.

Excélsior writes much about items relevant to peace and war (56 stories), to international understanding (50 stories), to civil and political rights (48 stories), to economic and social rights (24 stories) and to disarmament and arms race (16 stories). There are 3 positive and one neutral story about the UN.

Excélsior does not seem to be concerned about the great evils that currently afflict mankind: poverty, malnutrition and diseases. There are four positively inclined stories on poverty, but none at all on malnutrition or diseases.

Another area on which very little is said in Excélsior is that of the self-determination of peoples. There are no stories at all relevant to colonialism and neo-colonialism or to development, and only two stories relevant to foreign occupation, of which one is positive, one neutral. Also non-represented are the topics of aspirations of the younger generation, aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples, and war propaganda.

Though the coverage of Excélsior is generally rather positively inclined to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration, one exception should be noticed. Of those news items that concern socialist countries, only some 20 percent are positively inclined, and these are never stories describing the socio-political system. In my opinion, the material published from socialist countries very badly reflects the social system of those countries. It seems that the material published mainly

follows plans outlined in advance and tends to reinforce prejudices and anti-socialist positions.

The relationship of Excélsior to socialist countries is rather similar to that of the other Latin American newspaper included in this study, the Chilean El Mercurio. However, in contrast to El Mercurio, Excélsior is strongly opposed to Latin American dictatorships, and to military and other repressive governments. Excélsior also appears as a defender of civil and political rights, and has far more stories about international economic relationships and economic and social rights than El Mercurio.

Examples

The first example, published in Excélsior on February 7th, is somewhat negatively inclined to international understanding. It also illustrates Excélsior's coverage of the socialist countries. The story titled 'Ordenó Fidel Castro el Cierre de Mercados de Agricultores Privados' ('Fidel Castro orders the closure of private farmers' markets') comes from the New York Times News Service, and is written by Joseph B. Treaster (copy reproduced on next page).

The news item tells how the "quixotic Cuban leader", Fidel Castro, has preached socialist equality with the fervour of a fanatic evangelist. Nevertheless, private farmers' markets were established in Cuba. Now the communists are accusing the markets for having formed a new "upper class" in a society where classes were abolished. According to Mr. Treaster, these private markets have in any case helped to reduce the food shortage from which Cuba has suffered during the past decade. And now, Fidel Castro has ordered the closure of these markets.

The major part of the story describes the farmers' markets and their situation in Cuba in a rather neutral way, but the description of the Cuban leader as "quixotic" and "fanatic" tends to give a negative flavour to the whole story.

Ordenó Fidel Castro el Cierre de Mercados de Agricultores Privados

Por
JOSEPH B. TREASTER,
de The New York Times

LA HABANA, 6 de febrero — La Primavera pasada, el quijotesco líder cubano, descubrió a un agricultor que cultivaba ajo y ganaba unos 50.000 dólares anuales por la venta de lo que sobraba de su cosecha, luego de cumplir la cuota que le pedía el Estado.

Un poco después, Castro, de 60 años, se encontró con otro agricultor, que había comprado dos camionetas y ganaba unos 150.000 dólares anuales —aproximadamente 30 veces más de lo que el Estado paga a un cirujano— por medio del transporte privado de vegetales y fruta.

Castro, quien predica la igualdad socialista con el mismo fervor que un evangelista fanático, pronto se dio cuenta de que hay muchos agricultores y transportistas que ganaban buenas cantidades trabajando para los diversos mercados de agricultores privados, que él mismo inició en 1980, para promover la producción y reducir la escasez de alimentos. Su revolución, iniciada hace 28 años, estaba siendo destruida, dijo. Los comunistas cubanos se están comportando como "capitalistas disfrazados". Se iniciaba el desarrollo de una nueva "clase alta", en un país donde las clases sociales habían sido supuestamente eliminadas.

Más que eso, en toda la isla, que tiene diez millones de habitantes, la ética de trabajo que promovió junto a Ernesto "Che" Guevara, parecía haberse desvanecido. Castro dijo que era una "generalización del vicio" y ordenó, en mayo pasado, el cierre de los mercados de agricultores privados, que contribuyeron a acabar con la escasez de alimentos que fueron comunes la década pasada.

(c) 1987, The NYT News Service

The second example is a commentary article from Excélsior on February 6th. The article, entitled 'Pruebas Nucleares - Reto al Mundo' ('Nuclear tests - A threat to the world'), is written by Oscar Gonzalez Lopez (copy reproduced on next page). It strongly favours the banning of nuclear tests and dismantling nuclear weapons, and is therefore counted as positively inclined to the aims of the Declaration regarding the arms race and disarmament.

The leading article notes that the United States carried out its latest nuclear test on the previous Tuesday in Nevada. According to the article, nuclear tests represent a threat to "the majority of humankind" and remind us of the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The US Congress, the article says, is divided on the issue of nuclear tests. Proposals have been made to stop further US nuclear tests, provided that the Soviet Union continues its unilateral moratorium [which was later ended]. Also, it has been suggested that the US should enter into negotiations with Moscow in order to reach an agreement on a "reciprocal, simultaneous and verifiable prohibition of nuclear weapons".

The article also describes the efforts of the 'Group of Six', formed by Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania, to reduce the nuclear threat. Additionally, it tells of a recent visit of US scientists to the Soviet nuclear test site in Semipalatinsk (which is misprinted as Semipalátanisk).

All in all, the writer is clearly trying to inform his readers about the nuclear threat and about efforts to mitigate it. He is also trying to win support for international efforts at disarmament.

Pruebas Nucleares

Reto al Mundo

POR OSCAR GONZALEZ LOPEZ

LA primera prueba nuclear subterránea de 1987, realizada el pasado martes en el complejo militar estadunidense de Yucca Flat, Nevada, representa un insolente e imperial reto lanzado por el actual inquilino de la Casa Blanca y los contumaces belicistas que despachan en las oficinas de mando del Pentágono, la CIA, el Consejo Nacional de Seguridad y de los gigantescos consorcios fabricantes de armas nucleares y de sus sofisticados medios de emplazamiento y transporte, a la abrumadora mayoría de la humanidad.

Que el último ensayo nuclear llevado a cabo por el gobierno de Ronald Reagan desborda el marco de las relaciones soviético-estadunidenses, se evidencia con la inmediata condena que tal hecho recibió por parte de los alcaldes de las ciudades japonesas de Hiroshima y Nagasaki.

★

EN el interior de Estados Unidos se produjo la unánime condena de tal acto de fuerza, llevado a cabo mientras en Ginebra se efectúan negociaciones sobre temas fundamentales de desarme por los 258 diputados integrantes de la mayoría demócrata en el Congreso estadunidense y el llamado de los mismos a sus colegas del Partido Republicano, para adoptar en común las medidas necesarias para bloquear el uso de fondos destinados a nuevas pruebas nucleares, mientras la URSS mantenga su moratoria unilateral.

Tan alentadora conducta de la bancada del Partido Demócrata, fue acompañada con un proyecto de ley presentado por 140 de sus diputados para demandar al Ejecutivo el inmediato principio de negociaciones con Moscú, con miras a lograr "la prohibición recíproca, simultánea y verificada de las armas nucleares".

A la necesidad imperiosa que tiene la humanidad de que las potencias nucleares lleguen a un acuerdo que ponga fin a los ensayos nucleares, necesidad interpretada lúcidamente por el gobierno mexicano y los de Argentina, Grecia, India, Suecia y Tanzania, integrantes del Grupo de los Seis, con su oferta de colaborar con científicos y técnicos de sus países para verificar el cese de las detonaciones nucleares subterráneas, la administración Reagan respondió con desdén imperial a tal propuesta, presentada en la reunión de Ixtapa de los días 6 y 7 de agosto de 1986 y la rechazó de plano al realizar tres kilotonazos en el mes de septiembre y otros tres más en el último trimestre de 1986, con los que el Pentágono sumó quince detonaciones en el año.

★

CON el provocador ensayo llevado a cabo el pasado martes, la Casa Blanca lleva 25 desde que la Unión Soviética implantó, en ocasión del 40 aniversario en que el fuego atómico consumió a Hiroshima, la moratoria unilateral de tales ensayos. Cabe señalar que el efectuado el 18 de julio de 1986 en el campo de pruebas de Nevada, fue detectado en las instalaciones del polígono antípoda de Semipalatansk, Kazajstan, por científicos estadunidenses y soviéticos que se encontraban ahí en visita de trabajo. La propuesta de Los Seis, en el sentido de colaborar en la creación de un sistema de control del cese de las multicitadas pruebas, fue aceptada por el Kremlin y en éste están ya esperando a los

SIGUE EN LA PAGINA NUEVE

4.4 El Mercurio, Chile

(by José Marquez)

Six issues of the Chilean newspaper El Mercurio from 6th to 11th February 1987 were analysed. Out of the 591 stories in these issues, 273 are relevant to the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO. Out of the relevant ones, 79 (28.9 percent) are positively inclined, 87 31.9 percent) neutrally inclined and 107 (39.2 percent) negatively inclined to the aims of the Declaration.

El Mercurio pays much attention to international understanding in general (84 stories), to civil and political rights (72 stories), to war and peace (46 stories) and to disarmament and arms race (24 stories). There are also some stories that are relevant to apartheid, foreign occupation, social and economic rights, and war propaganda.

There are no stories relevant to development or to the aspirations of the younger generation.

The most significant characteristic of El Mercurio is that almost 40 percent of its coverage is negatively inclined to the aims of the Declaration. This negative inclination is very clear in the categories of international understanding (46 negative stories out of 84 relevant), disarmament (12 negative out of 24) and civil and political rights (24 negative out of 72).

El Mercurio is rather negatively inclined to the aims of the Declaration in the areas of international understanding (topics 1.1 through 1.5) and human rights (topics 2.1 through 2.4). The rest of the Declaration (topics 3.1 through 6) is practically ignored.

The foreign news coverage of El Mercurio is dominated by three western news agencies: UPI, AP and AFP. El Mercurio publishes a great deal of their material as such, without any editing: El Mercurio's foreign news policy comes very close to that of the main western news agencies.

All news from the socialist countries are also reported by the western news agencies. The majority of these items are about space research, Soviet armament, and dissidents in the USSR, and they tend to describe the Soviet socio-political system in a negative light. Items which can be classified as positive or neutral are either sports news or items of human interest.

El Mercurio writes a few stories on South Africa, but all these are very short and ignore UN resolutions condemning apartheid. Other news concerning African countries - and the Third World in general - are scarce, and for the most part they are about natural catastrophes, accidents, etc. El Mercurio, for example, does not give its readers any information about the aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of Third World peoples.

Examples

The first example was published in El Mercurio on February 8th as a leading article. The article, entitled 'Defensa Espacial' ('Space defence') is about the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI, also known as 'Star Wars') (copy reproduced on next page).

According to the article, Republican Senator Bob Dole had on the previous Tuesday informed that US President Ronald Reagan had discussed the initiation of the first phase of the SDI with Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. The article cites the Washington Post as saying that Weinberger has requested authorization for preparing detailed plans for swift installation of a part of the Star Wars system.

The article describes SDI as a defensive system, thus repeating the views of US officials. It is a system of defence against intercontinental missiles, whose destructive power is far greater than of the bombs used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The violent Soviet campaign against the Star Wars System, according to the article, is due to the fact that it would "nullify [Soviet] superiority in atomic weapons", as it would

Defensa Espacial

El dirigente republicano del Senado Bob Dole informó el martes pasado que el Presidente Ronald Reagan está de acuerdo con el Secretario de Defensa, Caspar Weinberger, en inaugurar la primera etapa del sistema de defensa espacial conocido corrientemente como "Guerra de las Galaxias".

El "Washington Post" ha dicho que se espera que el Secretario de Defensa le pida al Presidente Reagan que autorice la preparación de planes detallados para poner en pronta aplicación una parte del proyecto "Guerra de las Galaxias", el cual es de vasta envergadura y cuyos estudios y ensayos se prosiguen en estos momentos con gran actividad.

El proyecto, que el Presidente Reagan alienta con gran energía, tiene por finalidad destruir en el espacio atmosférico mientras vuelan hacia sus objetivos a los misiles intercontinentales que puedan amenazar al territorio norteamericano. Estos misiles tienen cabezales atómicos, con un poder de destrucción mucho mayor que las bombas arrojadas contra Hiroshima y Nagasaki. Los ensayos han demostrado la efectividad de los proyectiles norteamericanos, que con la ayuda de rayos láser han destruido en el espacio misiles en viaje hacia Estados Unidos.

La violenta campaña desatada por la Unión Soviética contra el plan norteamericano, que anularía su actual superioridad en materia de misiles atómicos, demuestra que estas nuevas armas han conseguido su objetivo que es defender el territorio norteamericano contra los misiles atómicos soviéticos. Los soviéticos alegan que Estados Unidos está armando el espacio exterior, el que debería quedar libre de todo acto bélico. Este contesta que es Moscú el que violaría la tranquilidad del espacio aéreo si lanzara sus misiles atómicos para atacar su territorio, y que ejerce un legítimo derecho de defensa al destruirlos en el espacio exterior antes de que alcancen su objetivo.

La tenacidad de la campaña de la URSS demuestra a las claras que está quedando en condiciones de inferioridad y que aún no logra aventajar a EE. UU. en tecnología y potencial económico. Otra causa de controversia entre las dos superpotencias es lo relativo a los ensayos nucleares subterráneos que son los únicos que permite el Tratado de 1963 y que la URSS tiene suspendidos desde hace 18 meses por decisión unilateral y que aún no logra convencer a Estados Unidos de que haga lo mismo. Por el contrario, este país acaba de realizar su primera explosión subterránea nuclear en el desierto de Nevada para el presente año, a una profundidad de 213 metros bajo la superficie. El vocero del Departamento de Energía dijo que la prueba fue todo un éxito y no hubo escape de radiactividad.

provide the US territory with a protective shield against Soviet nuclear missiles. It has become clear that the Soviet Union is against space defence because its technological and economic potential is inferior to that of the US.

The article is in favour of installing new nuclear weapons, and it dismisses the opposition of SDI as fear of technological and economic inferiority. Thus the article is negatively inclined to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration concerning arms race and disarmament.

The second example was published in El Mercurio on February 6th. The story, 'Revolution Fracasada' ('The failed revolution') was published in a commentary column called 'Día a Día' ('From day to day'), and written under the pseudonym Corusco (copy reproduced on next page).

The article first describes the history of the socialist revolution in Cuba since 1958. It tells that the triumph of Fidel Castro's revolution met with sympathy in the western world.

The revolution in Cuba has failed, the article states. "Cuba, as a state, has become a mix of garrison and prison, where all basic human rights are abolished or violated." These atrocities were considered justifiable because of the successes of the Cuban economic experiment. But these successes have turned out to be a fable, the article concludes. The Cuban economy cannot survive without the aid of the Soviet Union.

Though some of the accusations in the article could be true, the article still gives a purposefully ill picture of Cuba. Thus, it is regarded as negatively inclined to international understanding.

Día a Día

6.2.87
PAG A 3
EL MERCURIO

REVOLUCION FRACASADA

Hace 28 años, en enero de 1959, se consolidó la revolución que en Cuba encabezaba Fidel Castro. El 31 de diciembre del año anterior los rebeldes habían ocupado Santiago de Cuba, al día siguiente dimitía Batista, el 2 entraron en La Habana los insurgentes al mando del "Che" Guevara y Camilo Cienfuegos y el 8 hacía lo mismo Fidel, autodesignado Comandante en Jefe de las Fuerzas Armadas, cuya estructura regular fue inmediatamente disuelta.

El triunfo de la revolución castrista fue mirado con simpatía en el mundo occidental. La deshonestidad administrativa, la corrupción, los enriquecimientos ilícitos y el despotismo político, unidos a la falta de capacidad política de los dirigentes democráticos, justificaban el cambio. Castro concitaba el interés de toda la comunidad internacional que lo apreciaba como un dirigente que desde los años juveniles aparecía como preocupado por los intereses de las mayorías desposeídas de su país.

Pronto Castro se sacó la careta. En diciembre de 1961, luego de declarar que hasta entonces había sido un "aprendiz de marxista leninista", hizo profesión de fe de esa ideología, en la que militaba, en verdad, desde los años universitarios. Desde entonces Cuba se transformó en un estado mezcla de guarnición y presidio, en el que los derechos humanos esenciales fueron suprimidos o gravemente conculcados; en el propósito de construir una economía socialista no se admitió la menor expresión de disidencia y el pueblo cubano carece desde entonces de toda autonomía para resolver su destino.

Algunos justificaban estos atropellos por los resultados alcanzados por la experiencia castrista en el campo económico social. Hoy se sabe que estos logros eran un mito. "Cuba se ha convertido en un capitalismo disfrazado sin los beneficios competitivos del capitalismo", ha dicho Castro en el último congreso del Partido Comunista cubano. Al mismo tiempo, reconoció que la economía de su país no puede subsistir sino con la ayuda soviética.

Después de 28 años se ha comprobado, una vez más, que el socialismo científico no es solución para las economías subdesarrolladas. Para dar pan se priva de la libertad y a poco andar desaparecen tanto el pan como la libertad.

Corasco

62

4.5 The Ethiopian Herald, Ethiopia

(by Linus Atarah)

All nine issues of The Ethiopian Herald between 7th and 17th February 1987 were analysed. This yielded a total of 366 stories, out of which 102 (27.9 percent) are relevant to the topics of the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO.

The Ethiopian Herald carries a lot of stories relevant to peace and war (24 stories), to disarmament and arms race (14 stories), to development (16 stories), to international understanding (17 stories) and to apartheid (8 stories). There are less stories relevant to foreign occupation (1 story), to colonialism and neo-colonialism (1 story), to racialism (1 story), to economic and social rights (4 stories) and to the UN (4 stories). There are no stories at all relevant to poverty and to war propaganda.

The most significant feature in the coverage of The Ethiopian Herald is that there is not a single article negatively inclined to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration. In fact every story in The Ethiopian Herald is positively inclined. The news content indicates that The Ethiopian Herald makes a serious effort to meet the aims expressed in the Mass Media Declaration. When reporting on certain controversial issues, the Ethiopian Herald sticks to the bare facts.

Examples

The Ethiopian Herald is clearly concerned with the evils of apartheid in South Africa. The first example has a very strong positive inclination to the Mass Media Declaration's aims with regard to apartheid. In its editorial column on 15th February, The Ethiopian Herald carried a long article entitled 'For isolation of apartheid regime' (copy reproduced on next page).

The article highlights the repressive nature of the apartheid system. It is particularly concerned with the imprison-

The Ethiopian Herald

Published daily except Mondays

by the Ministry of Information and National Guidance

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, P.O.Box 30701

Established in 1943

Editor-in-Chief : Kiflom Adgei

SUNDAY 15 FEBRUARY 1987

Editorial

FOR ISOLATION OF APARTHEID REGIME

The continuing repression in South Africa against the opponents of the apartheid system is assuming broader dimensions with the number of people held under detention by the racist regime passing the 30-thousand mark. Over two thousand of these are children under the age of 14. The arrest and detention as well as the torture and the killings of those who resist racial oppression and exploitation in South Africa represent systematic and deliberate campaigns to suppress any form of opposition to apartheid.

In an interview with newsmen last week, a senior official of the African National Congress (ANC) likened Pretoria's repressive measures against the black population to what happened in Nazi Germany. The ANC official deplored the regime's action because the detention of children is injuring them mentally and physically. He noted that the children's whole personality in the future has been destroyed as they are mentally and physically maimed. They have been undergoing horrors of torture in prison. "The brutality of the apartheid regime can only be matched by that of Nazi Germany meted out on Jews," he said.

It is these and other developments that are forcing the ANC and the oppressed masses of South Africa to intensify their struggle. It is only natural that they cannot accept the victimization passively and with folded arms. It is very clear that the ANC has always been willing to change the apartheid system through diplomatic and other peaceful means but Pretoria would not respond to this because the racists continue to bask in the sunshine of apartheid with the full support of some Western powers.

It has been pointed out time and again that under the state imposed system of institutionalized terror and racial discrimination, black South Africans, who represent the overwhelming majority of the country's population, are denied their most fundamental rights and liberties. They are not allowed to participate in the political life of the country and are subjected to a whole series of repressive laws despite the repeated dubbing of apartheid by the entire world as a crime against humanity. In defiance of the weight of world public opinion and particularly of UN decisions, the apartheid regime is still going ahead with its repressive measures.

No wonder, South Africa is now resembling an erupting volcano. Mass action against apartheid and the political and armed struggle spearheaded by the African National Congress are shaking the very foundations of the racist regime. Besides, Pretoria is facing growing isolation on the international scene and the white minority regime is finding itself in an unprecedented economic crisis. And that is why the racist regime is vainly trying to end the crisis through bloody reprisals and police terror which have led to the death of hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

As is widely expected, the question of the liberation of southern Africa has become a burning international issue. With the commencement of detentions of children, the problems in South Africa are really reaching intolerable proportions. By detaining children under the age of 14, the racist regime is once again manifesting its obstinacy to stick to its hated policies. In a vain attempt to arrest the tide of popular uprising, it has intensified its repression through mass imprisonment and widespread acts of genocide. At the same time, the South African masses have, through their brave resistance and popular action, demonstrated that they can no longer tolerate apartheid in spite of the degree of oppression and repression against them.

Indeed, the failure of the apartheid regime not to heed world public opinion its continuation of repressive policies should not go unpunished. The latest repressive measures in particular in connection with the detention of children should serve to further arouse the conscience of the international community against the evils of apartheid. The world should realize that apartheid is only the continuation of colonization and dehumanization of the black man. A speedy demise of the racist regime is therefore imperative.

ment of thousands of children, most of them under the age of fourteen. The article points out that the horrors of torture in prison will cause serious physical and mental harm to the personality of these children. The article likens apartheid to Nazism during World War II.

The article goes on to say that the black population, which constitutes the overwhelming majority in South Africa, has been denied all basic human rights; the apartheid regime has not heeded to the protests of international opinion and the United Nations. The article concludes:

> The world should realize that apartheid is only the continuation of colonization and dehumanization of the black man. A speedy demise of the racist regime is therefore imperative.

The second example concerns disarmament. On February 8th, The Ethiopian Herald carried a lengthy article entitled 'Decisive Steps Towards Disarmament' (copy reproduced on next page). The article, written by Dr. Jurgen Schneider, is originally from the Soviet magazine New Times.

Mr. Schneider writes about the danger posed to the survival of mankind by the presence of nuclear weapons capable of mass destruction. He totally disagrees with the thinking that the presence of nuclear weapons will help to maintain peace. According to Mr. Schneider, "A world without nuclear weapons is not only possible, but feasible, given the political will." He laments the slow progress being made towards the achievement of universal disarmament and the resolution of international conflicts without resort to war. He strongly advocates taking vigorous steps towards the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction to ensure peace for mankind. In his opinion, "preserving peace by military means is an anachronism which must be resolutely opposed".

The article has a favourable relationship to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration with regard to disarmament.

Decisive Steps Towards Disarmament

by Dr. Jurgen Schneider

A nuclear-free planet is not a fantasy on the part of day-dreamers in the peace movement, but a realistic and increasingly urgent political imperative. A world without nuclear weapons is not only possible, but feasible, given the political will.

War is not something "natural" like, for instance, the aggressive instinct in predatory animals. Man is the only living being that consciously kills in war, plans and wages war against his own kind. The combination of intellect and aggressiveness in man has found expression in the invention, development and use of ever more horrible types of weapon, and eventually of the nuclear weapon. At the same time, the invention and creation of the nuclear weapon has made it possible to destroy the whole human race. This has given rise to the doctrine of "nuclear deterrence," which supposedly helps to preserve peace.

Unfold intellectual and material resources have been put at the service of the policy of "deterrence." The priorities engendered by the cold war have produced a military-political strategy in which the buildup of arms and continuing preparations for war are regarded and extolled as safeguards of peace.

By contrast, efforts and contributions towards the study of ways of preserving peace and eliminating conflicts have been lamentably inadequate and ineffective. To this day there is no effective mechanism to resolve conflict situations without the threat of using force. Studies of the questions of preserving peace and eliminating conflicts are not encouraged. There is clearly still not enough awareness of the need for such studies.

We hear of the benefits to peace supposedly resulting from the building of armaments, and not of the benefits of disarmament. However, it is high time the arms race was curtailed as inadmissible in economic, social and ecological, let alone moral terms. Even the economies of the "rich" countries are no longer able to sustain the burden of the arms race.

Today contradictions between ideologies and socio-political systems are no longer to the fore. The future of the present and coming generations, the very foundations of their existence hang in the balance. The question is whether there will be a future at all. The fact that we are witnessing a global attack on nature and the foundations of the life of future generations can no longer be challenged. We are close to "winning" the war against nature unless we revise our priorities. The rapidly increasing exploitation of the earth will eventually lead to mortal clashes over sources of drinking water, arable land and raw materials, unless we commit all our spiritual and material potential to averting this global danger.

The public and political leaders East and West must become conscious of this and draw the necessary conclusions. The first of these should be the recognition of the need for serious and substantial disarmament. Arms build-up and progress are diametrically opposed. This does not apply to developing countries only. If the arms race continues, the resources for resolving global problems will vanish.

Peace through disarmament and reconciliation with nature are equal and fundamental prerequisites for our future. The first step in this direction is to get rid of hostile stereotypes in domestic and foreign policies. It is necessary to do more to explain the dangers of the present situation to the public and politicians. All countries should set up commissions of independent experts in various fields to build models of the future, analyse them and develop corresponding programmes for coordinated political action. In doing so the goals must be identified and the means determined to find a way out of the present situation.

International stability and security cannot be achieved and maintained through the arms race and confrontation in the exchange of technology (these processes unfortunately are still closely interrelated). Preserving peace by military means is an anachronism which must be resolutely opposed. Study of the problems of preserving peace and the natural environment is the biggest challenge facing human society. Decisive steps towards disarmament are needed in order to strengthen confidence. They include: an end to arms exports, phased reductions of existing arms arsenals and, if necessary, unilateral disarmament. This would provide a signal to the world public. This kind of trust calls for courage and confidence in one's action.

We must approach the problems facing the world in a different way from before. We must practise new forms of coexistence, including non-traditional forms. It is necessary to renounce hegemonistic ambitions, which have always been an obstacle to mutual understanding. We must get rid of the harmful habit of thinking in the narrow categories of one's own bloc. Everything that tends to diminish mistrust and promote confidence is useful. To this end, politicians as well as scientists and the ordinary people East and West, North and South must meet each other more often and on a far broader basis in order to get to know each other and together gain greater insight into their common and sometimes different problems. This is the only way to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence and understanding as a precondition for resolving the problems facing the whole of mankind. Only trust and mutual understanding can provide the basis for a stable world.

(Taken from *New Times*)

4.6 The Ghanaian Times, Ghana

(by Linus Atarah)

A total of nine issues of The Ghanaian Times from 7th to 17th February, 1987, were analysed for the purposes of this study. This produced a total number of 643 stories, of which 82 (12.8 percent) are relevant to the topics of the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO. Thus the Ghanaian Times carries far less relevant stories than any other of the studied media (see Table 1 on page 41).

The Ghanaian Times has a lot of items that were relevant to peace and war (23 stories), to development (13 stories), to apartheid (13 stories), to international understanding (6 stories) and to disarmament and arms race (8 stories).

There are no stories relevant to poverty or to the United Nations, though some of the UN's organizations, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Bank, are mentioned in the context of stories relevant to development. No story is relevant to war propaganda. Rather rare in The Ghanaian Times are items relevant to foreign occupation (2 stories), to malnutrition (1 stories), to economic and social rights (2 stories), to racialism (1 story) and to colonialism and neo-colonialism (2 stories).

The Ghanaian Times has no stories negatively inclined to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration. Out of the 82 relevant stories, 23 are neutral and 59 positive. However, it is important to note that all the foreign news in The Ghanaian Times are very short, which obviously affects the categorization. They are generally positive in the sense that they contain correct information about international affairs.

Examples

Our examples from The Ghanaian Times include all the foreign news published on Wednesday, February 11th (copy reproduced on next page). A total of 19 short foreign news items are

Dar. port

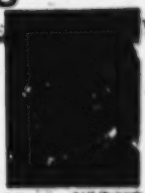
Soviet ...ie arms to succeed

Food gift

Union wants mediation...

Bank robbers

Foreign troops must quit Chad—Nguesso



7 wounded

Arms talks stalled

US team in Liberia

LONDON

World Bank

CAPE TOWN

ALGIERS

DAMASCUS

MADRID

WASHINGTON

BEIRUT

KAMPALA

fitted in four columns; most of them are only one or two paragraphs long.

The main article tells about the visit of Congolese President Mr. Denis Sassou-Nguesso to Paris under the title 'Foreign troops must quit Chad - Nguesso'. The short story rather matter-of-factly quotes the Congolese President as saying that peace is impossible in Chad as long as there are foreign troops in the country. The French President Francois Mitterrand is quoted as rejecting calls for the withdrawal of French troops from Chad.

In addition to quoting the opinions of the two presidents, the article stresses that Congo supports a solution of Chad's problems without foreign interference. Thus the article can be counted as positively inclined to the aim of furthering understanding between peoples.

As already mentioned, a typical foreign news item in The Ghanaian Times is very short. This can be illustrated by the item from Algiers: 'Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) Leader Yasser Arafat last night met Mohamed Abelaziz, chief of the Polisario Front fighting Morocco for the independence of the Western Sahara.' This item was counted as neutral under the topic of peace and war.

4.7 Daily News, Tanzania

(by Linus Atarah)

A total of ten issues published in the Daily News of Tanzania were analysed from 7th to 17th February 1987. Out of a total of 514 stories, 144 (28.0 percent) are relevant to the topics of the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO.

With the excpetion of war propaganda and colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Daily News carries stories relevant to all topics of the Declaration. It has a lot of stories that are relevant to war and peace (26 stories), to development (24 stories), to international understanding (23 stories) and to apartheid (8 stories). There is also a good number of stories on foreign occupation (11 stories) and on civil and political rights (9 stories). On the issue of human rights (topics 2.1 through 2.4) there are altogether 31 stories.

The Daily News does not give much coverage to poverty, racialism and aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples. Coverage of UN activities is also very limited (2 stories). Some affiliated organizations, such as FAO, WHO and the World Bank, are mentioned in development contexts.

The are no stories negatively inclined to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration. Out of the 144 relevancies, 26 (18.1 percent) are neutral and 118 (81.9 percent) positive. In contrast to The Ghanaian Times, the Daily News also carries lengthy commenting articles on the topics of the Declaration. Thus it can be said the the Daily News is making a conscientious effort to meet the recommendations of the Mass Media Declaration.

Examples

Given the geopolitical situation of Tanzania, it is inevitable that the South-African policy of apartheid is a major concern to a newspaper published by the Tanzanian government.

The Daily News published in its editorial column on 9th

Comment

PRETORIA's die-hard apartheid regime continues to pose a serious threat to its neighbours and the Southern Africa region generally.

The regime is busy amassing troops on its borders in preparation for committing acts of aggression against the Frontline States.

For some years now, South African troops have occupied a large part of Angolan territory, greatly violating the country's territorial integrity and freedom.

The regime also gives full support to a band of UNITA bandits who are used by Pretoria and some Western nations to undermine and frustrate the independence of the people of Angola.

Similarly, Pretoria continues to occupy Namibia in open defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations, which clearly call for speedy liberation of the territory through UN-organised and supervised elections.

Despite all these efforts, South Africa has chosen to remain adamant and intransigent, and ruthlessly continues to oppress innocent people in addition to exploiting their abundant natural resources.

In Mozambique, Botha's brutal and uncivilised behaviour is clear to all peace loving people the world over. For apart from launching direct attacks on targets inside the country, South Africa shamelessly sponsors and embraces the so-called Mozambique National Resistance [illegible] to undermine and destabilise the Frontline States with a view to turning them into bantustans.

On the other hand, Pretoria's aggressive policies against the Frontline States are aimed at concealing the true picture of the situation inside South Africa. But as we all know, such a trick has already proved unworkable in view of the ever escalating war of liberation in the country.

For the people inside and outside South Africa are now too aware that the regime is no longer governable and that chasing the so-called external enemy is just a question of buying time.

Almost daily we are fed with reports speaking volumes of achievements scored by the liberation forces right inside South Africa itself.

The militants are now capable of striking with precision practically every corner of the country with ease. This is evidenced by the several bombs attacks reported in recent months, some of which have hit crucial areas including the regime's sensitive installations and police stations.

Fresh in our minds is last week's bomb explosion just outside a luxurious estate where racist Botha and senior members of his cabinet live. This clearly proves that no force can stop the freedom fighters from executing the war of liberation.

South Africans and non-South Africans alike now openly acknowledge that the liberation movement in the country is a force to reckon with and that whether Botha and his henchmen like it or not the struggling forces are bound to win sooner or later.

We urge progressive mankind and the entire world community to stand on the side of the oppressed majority and assist them in every possible manner to enable them crush apartheid, paving the way for democratic rule in the country.

71

February 1987 an article in which it is said that the destabilizing activities of the South African regime pose a serious threat to peace in Southern Africa as a whole (copy reproduced on previous page). The article highlights the acts of aggression by South Africa against the Frontline states. It mentions and condemns the bombings on, and the occupation of, Angolan territory by South African forces, as well as similar acts against the territorial sovereignty of Mozambique.

The article goes on to mention the occupation of Namibia by South Africa, in defiance of UN resolutions. It points out that despite the intransigence of South Africa to allow independence to Namibia or accept black majority rule, the liberation movements in the region will carry the day. South Africa is merely buying time. The article concludes:

> We urge progressive mankind and the entire world community to stand on the side of the oppressed majority and assist them in every possible manner to enable them crush apartheid, paving the way for democratic rule in the country.

The second example, an article entitled 'Zionism and Apartheid: Comparative segregation', was published in the Daily News on 15th February (copy reproduced on next page). This article is taken from the Third World Network Features, and it is written by Professor Ali Mazrui. He seeks to draw similarities between Zionism and apartheid.

According to Mr. Mazrui, a distinction has to be made between micro-apartheid and macro-apartheid. The former is "a commitment to racial segregation at the local level", while the latter is "a commitment to separate homelands for each ethno-cultural group". Zionism can therefore be considered as apartheid in terms of the macro level, a belief in separate homelands. "It was this belief which made the Zionists insist on separate homes for the Jews and the partition of Palestine. It was a comparable belief which made Afrikaner nationalists in South Afrika insist on 'Bantustans'."

liberation front

Zionism and apartheid: comparative segregation

OUR age, writes Ali A Mazrui for Third World Network Features, stands witness to a double irony: Jews who had suffered so tragically under the Nazis have not only created the most arrogant nation state since the Third Reich but are also offering a model to South Africa under Afrikaanerdom.

THE State of Israel was born out of a fusion between Judaism and the European concept of the nation-state. The state of apartheid in South Africa was born out of a fusion between racism and the European concept of Capitalism. The Jews under Zionist leaders decided that they had to have a Jewish State for 'protection.' The whites of South Africa decided they had to have a racist state for 'security.'

Both Zionism and apartheid are now under siege — both approaches to security have been under serious challenge. Quo vadis?

We must distinguish between macro-apartheid, the commitment to separate homelands for each ethno-cultural group, and micro-apartheid, the commitment to racial segregation at the local level.

What the Jewish ideology of Zionism has in common with South Africa's doctrine of 'separate development' is the principle of macro-apartheid — a belief in separate homelands. It was this belief which made Zionists insist on a separate home for the Jews and on the partition of Palestine. It was a comparable belief which made Afrikaner nationalists in South Africa insist on 'Bantustans.'

Both ideologies of macro-segregationism are in serious trouble. Right-wing Israelis have failed to get rid of all the Arabs within their borders — and can only wishfully dream of a mass exodus of the Arabs from the occupied territories. What is more, the Arab population under Israeli rule is multiplying at more than twice the growth rate of the Jews. Israel is landed with unwanted Arabs — who may become increasingly 'subversive' domestically.

Similarly, white South Africa has failed to get rid of its blacks by squeezing them into homelands. The regime is still reluctant to accept the inevitability of racial co-existence — and, even more dramatically than Israel, is facing increasing domestic 'subversion.'

In desperation, both macro-segregationist states blame their troubles on their neighbours across their borders. Israel believes that if there were no 'naughty' neighbours there would be no PLO — and if there were no PLO there would be no Palestinian struggle. Afrikaners believe that if there were no 'naughty' neighbours, there would be no ANC — and if there were no ANC there would be no African resistance.

Israel cannot accept the proposition that the Palestinian struggle would rise again even if the PLO were destroyed. The pretoria regime has buried its head in the sand — deep in the delusion that if the ANC disappeared all would be well in apartheid South Africa 'once again.'

But for the time being far more people have been killed to defend Zionism than to defend apartheid. When you compare the death toll at either Sharpeville in 1960 or Soweto in 1976, it is only a fraction of the number of people the Israelis killed in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. This is quite apart from the casualties in the preceding four Arab-Israeli conflicts.

Similarly, Israeli raids on Palestinian camps have been more numerous and often more devastating than South Africa's raids on ANC 'camps' in neighbouring countries.

Why has the defence of Zionism been more costly in total number of human lives lost than the defence of apartheid?

Here we must distinguish between comprehensive power and specialised power. South Africa has comprehensive power over its neighbours — economic, logistical, geostrategic, technology as well as military power.

Some of the neighbours have no access to the outside world except through South Africa. This is the geostrategic weakness of Lesotho.

Others are forced to use South African ports or railways because their other options are in disrepair or sabotaged. This is the logistical weakness of countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia.

Almost all of South Africa's immediate neighbours are vulnerable to South Africa's economic power — buying and selling goods, and sometimes actually exporting labour to South Africa. The exporters of labour to South Africa's mines include Mozambique.

All South Africa's neighbours are in addition exposed to the regime's military muscle. All this adds up to really comprehensive power.

In contrast, Israel's power over the Arabs is almost entirely military. With petro-dollars many Arab countries are economically far richer than Israel. The Jewish state finds it much harder to buy friends in neighbouring countries as South Africa has done in supporting dissidents in Mozambique, Angola, Lesotho and possibly Zimbabwe.

The only place where Israel has managed to 'buy' Arab support is among right-wingers in Southern Lebanon. And even in Southern Lebanon the motives of the right-wingers have little to do with the money that Israel provides. If money was their main incentive they would have sold their loyalties at a higher price to Saudi Arabia or even Libya.

There is no comparable source of funds in Southern Africa to out weight what Pretoria can offer to African traitors. And so treason in Southern Africa can unfortunately be bought more cheaply than it can among Israel's neighbours. That is mainly because South Africa's neighbours are economically weaker and more vulnerable than Israel's neighbours. So less scrupulous Southern African citizens can be tempted more easily and for much less money.

If then Israel has less economic power than South Africa for subverting neighbouring countries, Israel has to explore other areas of regional advantage. No Arab country needs Israeli ports or market for its trade, or Israeli railways for its freight, or Israeli goods. And only those areas actually occupied by Israel (the West Bank, Gaza and to a certain extent Southern Lebanon) export labour to Israel. The Jewish State cannot threaten neighbouring Arab countries with expulsion of their immigrant workers — because there are no such workers to be used as hostages.

What then is Israel's last leverage? What is its last resort? Naked military power, pure and simple!

The Jewish state cannot threaten economic sanctions, or deny infrastructural facilities, or hold Arab workers to ransom, or close ports, or switch off electricity, or buy up traitors for sale. What Israel can do is kill, maim and destroy. Israel's power is not comprehensive but narrowly specialised.

It is because of these factors that so many more thousands of lives have been lost to defend the Jewish state than to protect the apartheid regime.' But both regimes remain symbols of some of the worst forms of injustice in the twentieth century.

They both claim to be part of the vanguard of an international fight against terrorism. Both systems are themselves predicated on state terrors — steeped in arrogance and cynicism.

It is one of the cruel ironies of our age that the Jews — who had suffered so tragically under the Nazis — should later have created the most arrogant nation-state since the Third Reich. It doubles the tragedy to see a Jewish state serve as a model to South Africa under Afrikaanerdom. The racists of Pretoria have indeed been using Israel as their paradigm for 'counter-insurgency.'

The martyrs of Nazi concentration camps are turning in their graves. Their sacred cause is now profaned. The pity of it!

The article points out that both segregationist policies are built on violence, which makes "both regimes remain symbols of the worst forms of injustice in the twentieth century". It goes on to criticize Israel by saying that "it is one of the cruel ironies of our age that the Jews who had suffered so tragically under the Nazis should later have created the most arrogant nation-state since the Third Reich".

While the first example was obviously against apartheid in South Africa, the second one could be interpreted as a mean campaign against Israel and therefore conflicting with the goal of international understanding. However, its overall contents do not show such infringement, since the article is mainly against segregation of whatever nature, not against Israel. Therefore both examples were classified as positively relevant, the first one to apartheid, the second one to racialism.

The third example from the Daily News, published on 8th February, is concerned with human rights. The article, entitled 'The plight of the 'forgotten' foreign prisoners', was written by Nicholas Cole of Gemini News Service (copy reproduced on next page).

The article expressed concern over the inhuman treatment that certain people undergo in foreign prisons, for example in South East Asia and in the countries of the Middle East. According to the writer, there is no justice in making a person lose his or her liberties and further made to suffer under inhuman prison conditions. Many of these prisoners are completely without legal aid, whether awaiting trial or already convicted.

The article is not concerned only with the welfare of one nationality, but with the welfare of people in general. It also describes some of the voluntary humanitarian efforts undertaken by certain international organizations, such as the British Council for the Welfare of Prisoners Abroad.

The article is clearly concerned with civil and political rights in a positive manner.

The plight of the 'forgotten' foreign prisoners

For thousands of people convicted of offences while in a foreign country, the outlook can be bleak. Without outside intervention, they must face stark odds, physical abuse, and death. Their plight has prompted the founding of several organisations dedicated to alleviating their suffering and achieving more humane treatment. Yet as fast as solutions are found, reports NICHOLAS COLE of Comment News Service, more problems arise.

SOME are murderers, some are thieves. A large number have been caught smuggling drugs. Most are suffering, physically, emotionally or both.

They are the prisoners in overseas jails — penniless, friendless, far from home, and likely to be so for many years yet. Among them are those who may never return, individuals facing the death penalty.

Until recently, apart from even so ad-vanced countries tended to be the private hardships over the just deserts of private lawsuits, whether convicted or still pending trial.

Then, quite spontaneously, this view began to be challenged. What right, in humanity's name, the objection ran, did a state punishing a person? Isn't cancelling their liberty sufficient retribution, without adding a miserable, dehumanising existence in jail as well?

Underscored by accusations of inhumanity — favouring foreigners over their victims, the objections prevailed.

Their concern has led to a loose knit mix of private voluntary and state-supported organisations dedicated to the welfare of their nationals in foreign jails.

Two of the most active are Britain's National Council for the Welfare of Prisoners Abroad (NCWPA), and the high-powered government-funded Bureau Buitenland in the Netherlands.

France's CINDHETE developed from campaigns on behalf of French prisoners in Thailand and Turkey. Paris-based, it is staffed by part-time volunteers and has grown in parallel with the NCWPA.

Australia has two organisations, one involved in the welfare of prisoners generally and the other specialising in the welfare of Australians facing offences held in South East Asia.

American nationals seeking help call on International Legal Defence Counsel, a Philadelphia law practice with experience in obtaining effective assistance.

Although the list is constantly short, these countries are likely to form their own organisations in an era when offenders have often shown as little respect for their guidance as for their own and when sentences expect little mercy as return.

The guards would kick and punch you without reason. They pushed you to the brink and then some. The atmosphere was cold because very little as you didn't know whether they would turn round and shoot you next time.

I was beaten and put in chains for refusing to clean down into the sewers, to make room for new cell blocks.

Such was the testimony of a Briton detained for three years in South East Asia on par with the other prisoners in one cell. Many he shared were slowly starving to death.

Another Briton, arriving from South America, recently in the jail, was put what you can see. Under the law, the state could imprison for either the safekeeping of the person until the end of the investigation, your home, food, clothes, articles of personal hygiene, everything that he purchased. And in many, especially after an uprising, the conditions worldwide very enormously. In many cases, they are appalling, declares Britain's London-based NCWPA, which is consulted by other similar organisations and involved in mutual referrals.

The Council, set up as a private, personal charity in 1979, is funded by official grants and private donations. Its sponsors include the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie.

NCWPA continues: "Many prisons are dirty and overcrowded, and prisoners suffer from malnutrition and serious disease. Without outside help from family or friends, prisoners become weak and ill, and unlikely to survive a long sentence.

"Ignorance of local laws and language makes things harder for foreign prisoners — they may not know how to find a good lawyer or get a fair trial. They become lonely and isolated.

Middle Eastern countries can be some of the toughest to deal with because of legal processes.

The most formidable conditions are found in the jails of South America and South East Asia, says NCWPA trustee David Bernstein. "In the Third World generally, the standard of prisons is well below what a Western country would expect as a minimum. We do not necessarily accuse foreign officials are discriminated against, although this may be."

Of the Council's 300 or so current cases, mainly British citizen clients — 90 more than a year ago — about one third have been involved in drug or drug-related offences. Among them was Kevin Barlow, the Briton hanged in Kuala Lumpur last July after being convicted of drug smuggling.

Thirty cases concern fraud, theft or robbery, and 10 involve murder. Most prisoners have been apprehended during holiday or business visits.

NCWPA establishes regular contact with all British prisoners, at hears of, provides information and support for their families, few of whom can afford to visit, and ensures illness or malnutrition are detected and treated.

Working on a confidential, impartial basis, the Council also gives direct financial assistance where necessary, as well as coordinating legal case-work, par-

THE LAW AND YOU

dons and parole applications or repatriation with British consuls.

The NCWPA has also helped push the Repatriation of Prisoners Act into law, enabling the international transfer on prisoners.

The first of these has been the Council of Europe Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Persons, operational since 1985 between Canada, France, Spain, Sweden, Britain and the US.

Framed to allow prisoners abroad to serve sentences in their home country, it has in practice run into several problems. These include delays caused by prison/judicial bureaucracy, and negotiations to reduce or waive heavy customs fines imposed for drug offences, particularly in France.

Then, ironically, there is the preference of some prisoners for jails in countries with penal systems more advanced than their own. They feel the conditions are better where they are", comments NCWPA's David Bernstein.

Also causing concern is deportation of discharged prisoners according to their nationality rather than their home. This involves occasional "dumping" of people in the countries of their parents origin, from which they often find it very hard to return home.

Despite the problems, which it is working to overcome, the NCWPA is encouraging prisoners' repatriation treaties with Third World countries. As with its broader representations, the watchword is "We will help if we can."

75

4.8 Windhoek Advertiser, Namibia

(by Kayele M. Kambombo)

Six issues of the Namibian Windhoek Advertiser were analysed, i.e. all the issues published from 7th to 17th February, 1987, except the issue of the 12th, which was not available. Out of the 211 stories in these six issues, 83 are relevant to the topics of the Mass Media Declaration. Because many stories are relevant to two or three topics, the total number of relevancies sums up to 125.

The Windhoek Advertiser concentrates its news coverage on stories relevant to peace and war (26 stories), foreign occupation (17 stories), international understanding (12 stories), racialism (9 stories) and apartheid (9 stories). Those that receive little coverage are stories relevant to disarmament and arms race (3 stories), malnutrition (2 stories) and poverty (1 story). There are no stories relevant to incitement to war.

In three topics of the Declaration, the Windhoek Advertiser carries no negative items (excluding topic 1.3, where there are no stories at all). These are topics 1.1 (relevant to the UN), 4. (relevant to the aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples) and 6. (relevant to the aspirations of the younger generation).

In some topics, a great majority of stories in Windhoek Advertiser are negatively inclined to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration. Very many negative stories are found for example in those relevant to peace and war (23 negative out of 26 relevant), foreign occupation (all 17 relevant stories negative), apartheid (7 negative out of 9 relevant) and racialism (6 negative out of 9 relevant). All in all, out of the 125 recorded relevancies, 82 (65.6 percent) are negatively inclined.

Generally, the journalists and other officials in charge of the Windhoek Advertiser pay more attention to sensationalist and trivial news than to real problems in Namibia.

The newspaper keeps silent about things that those in power do not want to hear of, such as the causes and effects of the war in Namibia. Its interpretation of the present situation in the country could perhaps best be described as escapist.

Nevertheless, the coverage of Windhoek Advertiser does reflect the situation in Namibia; for example, many of its stories are clearly relevant to the South African occupation in the country, and to racialism and apartheid. In these items the stand of Windhoek Advertiser is clearly contrary to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration.

Examples

The first example is a positive one, clearly more positive than the average relevant stories in Windhoek Advertiser. On Monday, February 9th 1987, Windhoek Advertiser published a story entitled 'Cory bids for peace' in its 'World News' section (copy reproduced below). The sources of the story are the news agencies SAPA, AP and Reuters. The four centimeters long, two-column story tells about an expired truce between communist insurgents and the government in the Philippines.

Cory bids for peace

MANILA: Troops were reported on a war footing yesterday as a 60-day truce with Communist rebels expired, but the Philippines government pledged continued efforts for peace.

"The government will keep the door to peace open but it will not cede to unwarranted demands," the government's chief ceasefire negotiator, Teofisto Guingona, told reporters.

President Corazon Aquino's administration planned to approach the Communist rank and file to seek regional peace agreements, he said. Both sides in the 18-year-old conflict were reported to be ready for war, but there were no immediate reports of post-ceasefire incidents.

The story cites the government's chief cease-fire negotiator, Mr. Teofisto Guingona, according to whom "the government [of Philippines] will keep the door to peace open but it will not cede to unwarranted demands". The story shows a clear concern about peace. It deals with the efforts towards peace between the two fighting parties in the Philippines in an objective and positive manner. Thus the story is favourably inclined to Article III of the Mass Media Declaration, according to which the mass media "have an important contribution to make to the strengthening of peace".

The second example is a negative one, published in Windhoek Advertiser on Tuesday, April 17th. The story under the title 'Contras in trouble' was placed on page two, where Windhoek Advertiser usually has its most important news (copy reproduced below). The source of the story is not mentioned, but it is obvious that it is one of the big news agencies.

Contras in trouble

WASHINGTON: American-backed Nicaraguan rebels are beset with troubles which experts believe will impede a US drive to keep the leftist Nicaraguan government off balance and weaken a warning signal sent to Managua by continual US military exercises in neighbouring Honduras.

The exercises, which began in 1982, are proceeding apace. More than 300 paratroopers from the vaunted 82nd Airborne Division dropped into Honduras last week for a two-week combat training exercise that increased the US force totalin that country temporarily to 3 700.

"Obviously, we're down here as an arm of US foreign

A second plank of the Reagan administration's anti-Sandinista platform involves the roughly 17 000 US-funded Nicaraguan "Contra" rebel fighters.

US officials say they hope Contra attacks will encourage a popular uprising against the Sandinistas, who they say are Marxist-Leninsts bent upon exporting revolution throught Latin America with Cuban and Soviet backing.

But factional infighting is

Contra commitment [illegible]

Adolfo Calero, one of three directors of the US-backed rebel alliance United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO), resigned today from the troubled organisation under pressure from rival leaders and the Reagan administration.

Calero, who heads the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)-trained Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) and is considered the most conservative member of the three-member UNO directorate, also called for the integration of FDN's 12 000-man army into a single rebel fighting force.

The White House did not

[illegible]

diverted to the rebels. —

The story is about the troubles encountered by the US-backed Nicaraguan contras and the US involvment in military exercises in Honduras. It is negatively inclined to two topics of the Mass Media Declaration. Firstly, it is unfavourably inclined to understanding between peoples, as it laments the troubles of the contras: their weakening "will impede a US drive to keep the leftist Nicaraguan government off balance". As the story considers the continued war between the contras and the Nicaraguan government a favourable situation, it is also unfavourably inclined to war and peace.

The third example, also a negative one, is written by the leading editor of Windhoek Advertiser, Mr. Jean Sutherland. The story, 'Swakop school opening is a breach in the dyke', was published on the front page of the Windhoek Advertiser on Wednesday, February 11th (copy reproduced on next page).

Mr. Sutherland writes that the Namibian Administration for Whites has opened the Swakopmund English Medium Primary School to all races, but has stopped short of total 'normalization' by keeping the hostel doors locked to blacks. According to the chairman of the White Administrative, Mr. Kosie Pretorius, the Swakopmund English Medium Primary School will admit "members of other population groups on certain conditions". He further notes that "where necessary parents will be informed that there are no hostel facilities for pupils of other groups". His statements clearly support the discriminatory legislation and separate education.

The story is very clearly negatively inclined to human rights, as it fully accepts the differential treatment of children of different racial groups this study). The story also supports the apartheid system in Namibia, which makes it negatively inclined to the Mass Media Declaration's aims on apartheid.

Swakop school opening is a breach in the dyke

By JEAN SUTHERLAND

THE ADMINISTRATION for Whites has opened the Swakopmund English Medium Primary School to all races, but has stopped short of total 'normalisation' by keeping the hostel doors locked to blacks.

Admission will also have to comply with extensive guidelines, and adhere to White Administration procedures.

The Administration announced its decision to open the previously racially-exclusive school to other races.

The new arrangement will come into effect "as soon as is feasible" this year, and from 1988 the school will be converted into a secondary school with a primary section.

Deputy Education Minister Piet Junius this morning hailed the move to 'open' the first White Admin school as "a breach in the dyke".

"It's definitely setting a precedent," he said.

With the harsh lessons of the past obviously fresh in his mind the deputy minister was, however, loathe to become too euphoric before he had studied "the full statement" by the chairman of the White Admin executive, Mr Kosie Pretorius.

"I want to make sure there are not any catches again.

"But, after trying for at least a year-and-a-half something has been achieved," Mr Junius said.

A statement this morning by Mr Pretorius said the Swakopmund English Medium Primary School will admit "members of other population groups" this year already 'on certain conditions'".

Hostel facilities will remain closed.

"Where necessary parents will be informed that there are no hostel facilities for pupils of other population groups," Mr Pretorius says.

The school will continue to be administered by the White Administration, and the opening of the school will also remain subject to review by the white executive committee.

Guidelines for monitoring admission include: language fluency, age and formative level, physical and psychological preparedness, "normative-ethical preparedness (religion)", available space, previous scholastic record, cultural historic milieu, character, whether the candidate falls into the school's natural residential area, and a commitment to the schools rules.

4.9 South West African Broadcasting Corporation (SWABC), Namibia

(by Johannes Amupala)

Three days of radio news from SWABC's Oshiwambo Service were taken into this study. The days are the 5th, 7th and 9th of August, 1985. Oshiwambo is one of the major local languages in Namibia.

A total of 181 news items broadcast were studied. Out of these, 122 (67.4 percent) were found to be relevant to at least one topic of the Mass Media Declaration. Three fifths out of the 122 were considered relevant to more than one topic; therefore the total number of relevancies is 198.

Given the rural social patterns, the relatively high illiteracy rate of 27.5 percent (which is a misleading figure because it also includes whites), the absence of daily newspapers in local languages, and the low newspaper circulation, it can be assumed that radio news represent the main source of information upon which the local population builds its world-view.

Under the control of an administration installed by South Africa, SWABC reflects the policies and views legitimizing the ruling ideology. The ruling ideology of apartheid and the presence of South Africa dictate the news philosophy of SWABC. This is reflected in the high occurrence of news relevant to apartheid (44 stories), racialism (25 stories), foreign occupation (36 stories) and colonialism and neo-colonialism (29 stories).

SWABC has a relatively high number of stories relevant to the topic of civil and political rights (12 stories), but only few relevant to economic and social rights (3 stories). In spite of UN's legal connection to Namibian territory, SWABC, which tends to have an aversion towards the international body, pays rather little attention to its activities (6 stories).

The hot news of the period studied is the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The coverage has a clear impact on

the figure of stories relevant to disarmament and arms race (10 stories).

Although Namibia is occupied by South Africa, and although there are frequent South African raids against the neighbouring countries, SWABC carries few stories relevant to war propaganda (3 stories). SWABC also pays very little attention to poverty, malnutrition and diseases (1, 4 and 2 stories respectively). All these stories are presented in a special bulletin of African news or in actualities under the title 'Know Africa'. SWABC seems to be totally indifferent to the aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of other peoples as well as to the aspirations of the younger generation.

The striking feature in SWABC's coverage is the high proportion of material negatively inclined to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration. Out of the recorded 198 relevancies, 135 (68.2 percent) are negatively inclined. 59 relevancies (29.8 percent) are positive, while merely 4 (2.0 percent) are neutral.

Given the local political and social conditions, SWABC has high figures of negative news on topics like foreign occupation (36 negative stories), apartheid (32 negative), racialism (16 negative), colonialism and neo-colonialism (28 negative) and civil and political rights (10 negative stories). SWABC has no negative news on three topics, with the exception of the topics that are not covered at all. This could be interpreted as meaning that SWABC's view on disarmament and arms race (9 positive stories, 1 neutral), on development (6 positive stories) and on diseases (2 positive stories) conforms with the aims of the Mass Media Declaration.

Examples

We begin with a positive example. SWABC carried reports on the 40th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, to which it also devoted a positively inclined commentary. But of special interest is the reporting of the Soviet leader's letter to Japan, in which Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev appeals to

Japan never to concede to any US deployment of nuclear weapons on Japanese territory. Despite the poor translation in Oshiwambo (SWABC's news bulletins are always written in Afrikaans and translated into the local language by the newscaster), the news story casts a positive light on disarmament efforts: it stresses the Soviet policy of no-first-use of nuclear weapons and supports the limitation of nuclear proliferation.

> SWABC, August 5th, 1985, at 20.00 hrs (translation)
>
> The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev appealed to Japan not to allow the US to deploy (produce) nuclear weapons in that country. Mr. Gorbachev in his letter published by the Russian government's news agency TASS reaffirmed the Russian policy of no-first-use of nuclear weapons. He also called upon other nuclear powers to support the Russian stand and to abide by the regulations of the conference of the 40th commemoration, particularly to prevent the use of nuclear weapons.

In spite of the passing of a Bill of Human Rights by the moribund Government of National Unity in 1985, apartheid is still explicitly or implicitly promoted by SWABC as a political and social policy in Namibia. This is illustrated by the following example:

> SWABC, August 5th, 1985, at 13.00 hrs (translation)
>
> South African Minister of Law and Order Mr. Louis le Grange once again authorized extended detention of people arrested under the emergency regulation in areas already affected by disturbances in the country. This was revealed by the spokesman of the Ministry of Law and Order in Pretoria. People arrested under the emergency regulation should be kept under arrest for a maximum of fourteen days, but the minister has authorized an indefinite detention. According to the latest information released by the police, about 1626 people are in detention. 114 were released.

In its reports on the racial disturbances and the imposition of the state of emergency in South Africa, SWABC uses police releases and government officials as the only sources of information. In other words, it presents government actions in a favourable light and neglects to consider the grievances of the majority blacks.

Significant in this story on the authorization of indefinite detention of 1426 people is that the extension is in itself a breach of South African law, which allows only a 14 days' detention without recourse to a court of law. Also, it is in violation of human rights. The news story does not inform the listeners about the cause of the emergency law, nor does it tell them who was arrested and for what reasons. The black population of Namibia is implicitly intimidated by reminding them of the omnipotence of the South African Police and their head, the Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange.

The next example has several nuances. First the story indicates that even if apartheid is condemned by the international community, the instruments of law enforcement are there to protect South African interests. Taking the point of view of the police force, SWABC emphasizes the tenability of apartheid and implies that the Australian police, just like its counterpart in South Africa, will arrest any anti-apartheid demonstrator. The inclusion of two versions of this story is intended to show how SWABC resorts to distortion and omission to defend apartheid.

> SWABC, August 9th, 1985, at 18.00 hrs (translation):
>
> Australian police arrested 30 anti-apartheid demonstrators in front of the South African embassy. The demonstration which started with a march towards the South African embassy was organised by a group known as Women Against Racism. Some women tried to enter the premises through the entrance, but one woman attempted to jump over the fence. The police spokesman said that

those who were arrested were reprimanded and warned not to continue their demonstration after being released.

SWABC, August 9th, 1985, at 20.00 hrs (translation)

Australian police arrested 30 demonstrators who were stampeding towards the South African embassy. The anti-apartheid demonstrators marched towards the South African premises and tried to force their way into the embassy through the entrance. A woman was arrested after attempting to climb over the fence. The police spokesman said that the group was ordered to disperse once released.

In the 6 p.m. newscast, the story has some elements of objectivity, in spite of the police angle. The demonstrating women are correctly identified as an anti-apartheid group known by the name of Women Against Racism. This describes them as an organised, purposeful group which in an orderly manner tried to enter the premises of the South African embassy. There was only an exception of one who made an attempt to jump over the fence. The demonstrators are clearly recognized and presented as having an objective.

In the second version which came out at 8 p.m., the demonstrators are no longer marching to the embassy, but stampeding ('vambombolokela') in a disorderly way and in an attacking mood ('vanings nkashava'). They do not try to enter the premises peacefully but by force. Even though they are identified as opposed to apartheid, they are no longer described as belonging to an organized body, and ostensibly their demonstration was a spontaneous one.

By stressing the arrest and reprimanding of the 30 women, SWABC fails to conform to the aim of disseminating information in order to promote understanding of other peoples' aims, aspirations, cultures and needs.

In the next example SWABC is clearly in violation of professional codes in that it is far from accurate in its news

reporting. In its campaign to undermine the support SWAPO and ANC both home and abroad, SWABC resorts to distortion. The story below reports the former Swedish Prime Minister, late Olof Palme, having given a statement to the effect that the ANC and communism are the forces behind the political crisis in South Africa and that he considers ANC as dishonest. Would a relentless fighter for justice like Mr. Palme really accuse ANC rather than apartheid as the bête noir in South Africa?

> SWABC, August 5th, 1985 at 18.00 hrs (translation):
>
> Swedish Prime Minister Mr. Palme said that his country will support mandatory sanctions against South Africa. However, he added that Sweden will not follow Denmark and Norway and recall her ambassador from South Africa, because he regards such a move as less effective. Speaking in the Norwegian city of Haben, Prime Minister Palme said that he thinks ANC and communism are the root cause of the problems in South Africa. He said that of recent there have arisen suspicions about the honesty of ANC.

The strong negative inclination to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO in SWABC can be viewed in the context of South Africa's defiance of international norms and opinions, which condemn the apartheid system and the occupation of Namibia. This fact and Soth Africa's non-membership of UNESCO do not justify the tota indifference to international standards.

4.10 Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD), Tanzania
(by Johannes Amupala)

Three days' coverage of news material from RTD's National Service was analysed. The news were broadcast in Kiswahili on the 14th, 16th and 18th of April, 1986. As in Namibia, and for similar reasons, radio is a very important source of information in Tanzania.

Out of the 165 stories studied, 96 (58.2 percent) are relevant to the topics of the Mass Media Declaration. Relevancies to more than one topic included, there are 132 relevancies.

The hottest news item during the period concerned in April 1986 is the US raid on Libya. It receives considerable coverage in RTD, probably at the expense of other news events. This explains the high figure of stories relevant to the topic of peace and war (30 stories). Nevertheless, RTD broadcasts a lot of news items relevant to the promotion of understanding between peoples (24 stories), economic and social rights (13 stories), apartheid (10 stories), racialism (8 stories), civil and political rights (9 stories) and aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples (8 stories). RTD pays some attention to the issues of disarmament and arms race (5 stories), colonialism and neo-colonialism (5 stories) and foreign occupation (4 stories).

It is noteworthy that RTD carries a lot of news on development (10 stories), but poverty, malnutrition and diseases are largely neglected (0, 0 and 2 stories respectively). There is only one story relevant to war propaganda. RTD also has little coverage of the activities of the UN (1 story) and the aspirations of the younger generation (2 stories).

Compared with SWABC, the significant feature in RTD, is the overwhelmingly positive inclination to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration. 110 relevancies out of 132 are positive, while 22 are neutral. In the studied material, RTD has no news stories negatively inclined to the Declaration.

Examples

Since there are no negative items, all the following examples are positive. The first example is from the 1 p.m. news bulletin on April 14th. It presents RTD's interpretation of the situation before the US air raid on Libya.

The story stresses the unity and mutual support between neighbours, Algeria and Libya, and among all Arab States through the Arab League; thus it is concerned with promoting understanding between peoples. The reporting of Libya's threats to retaliate against NATO countries in case they offer the United States military facilities to carry out the raid on Libya, has a nuance of justifiable self-defence. The story comments positively on British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's refusal to take part in the operation. The RTD's report on the invocation of international law and the importance of the relationship between the United Kingdom and Libya underlines the station's favourable inclination to international peace and understanding between peoples. The news on the eventualities of US threats are reported by RTD with indignation, with an elaborated coverage of international condemnation of the US administrations's politics.

> RTD, April 14th, 1986, at 13.00 hrs (translation):
>
> The Arab League and Algeria indicated that they are ready to give Libya moral and material support in her dispute with the Reagan administration. Reports from Tunis and Algiers regard Reagan's intention to attack Libya as a threat to international peace and security. From Tripoli it was reported that the Libyan government refuted, once again, allegations that it is involved in terrorism. Further, Libya issued a strong warning to other NATO member states that it will respond to any aggression with full force in retaliation against any country that offers military facilities to the US to stage her aggression against Libya.

British Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher has already refused the US request for using her military bases in Britain against Libya. Mrs. Thatcher personally told President Reagan that she is against the US plans to attack Libya. Prime Minister Thatcher also repeated her stand to the American special envoy Mr. Vernon Walters, who is currently touring Western Europe to canvass support for the US plan. The British government consider any military act against Libya as a breach of international law, and on the part of Britain itself, it will endanger her relationships with Libya, taking into account the 5000 Britons presently living in Libya.

The second example illustrates RTD's favourable disposition towards disarmament, and particularly its stand against nuclear weapons. In this story RTD reported the release of a letter to the American and Soviet leaders from six heads of states and governments. Those six, together representing about 892 million people, call upon the leaders of the superpowers to work hard towards the elimination of nuclear weapons. This reporting does not only score positively on the understanding between peoples, but also promotes the aims and aspirations of all peoples. The news bulletin was complemented with a topical comment.

RTD, April 14th, 1986, at 07.00 hrs (translation):

Six heads of states and governments waging an international campaign against nuclear weapons expressed their serious concern about the recent US nuclear test. In their latest letter to President Reagan and Soviet leader Mr. Gorbachev, the six leaders insist upon an unconditional end to nuclear tests, saying that it will be an important step in the direction of eliminating the possibility of using nuclear weapons.

In their letters signed last Tuesday, the six leaders stated that the continued existence of nuclear weapons poses a danger of deliberate or accidental use

of nuclear weapons.

> The six leaders are: President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina, Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, retired president [of Tanzania] Mwalimu Nyerere, Swedish Prime Minister Mr. Ingvar Carlsson, Mexican President de la Madrid and Greek Prime Minister Mr. Andreas Papandreou. These leaders support the Soviet decision to extend her unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and her preparedness to assist them in their efforts to bring an end to nuclear tests.

This report indicates RTD's sympathy with the global concern over nuclear weapons.

The third example was broadcast on the 6 a.m. current affairs programme on April 18th. The story conforms to RTD's and Tanzania's stand and policy vis-a-vis apartheid and racialism in Southern Africa. Significant in this news story, which was a live broadcast, is the campaigning tone: its aim is to draw support and broad participation in a SWAPO rally, to mobilize the general public to support issues being aspired by the black majority in South Africa. The sharing of the podium by the Tanzanian Prime Minister with representatives from SWAPO and ANC presents a compatibility in national foreign policy and RTD's editorial policy against apartheid and foreign occupation.

> RTD, April 18th, 1986, at 06.00 hrs (translation):
> At about 1 p.m. today, residents of Dodoma are expected to gather in front of the regional offices of CCM in support of our comrades of SWAPO of Namibia, who for the first time decided to commemorate the start of their liberation struggle here in Dodoma. Demonstrations will start from there and people will march to the Republic Stadium, where they'll be received by Prime Minister and First Vice President ndugu Joseph Warioba, who is expected to address the gathering. Also present

will be SWAPO's representative in Tanzania, ndugu Netumbo Nandi, who will address the people. Those attending will also hear a few words from the representative of the liberation movement of South Africa, the ANC. All residents of Dodoma are expected and called upon to attend in multitude in response to this honour from our comrades of SWAPO.

5. OVERVIEW OF THE RESULTS

There are some rather clear differences between the nine media studied in terms of how their reporting is related to the UNESCO Mass Media Declaration. When the total frequencies of stories relevant to each topic of the Declaration (Tables 2 and 3 on pp. 42-43) are studied without paying attention to the positive-neutral-negative distributions, two distinct groups of media emerge.

The first group is formed by Helsingin Sanomat (Finland), Excélsior (Mexico) and El Mercurio (Chile). All these newspapers have a high frequency of stories relevant to international understanding, peace and war, civil and political rights, and some on disarmament. They write very little about development. Correlation coefficients of the percentage distributions of relevant stories between these three newspapers are 0.87 or more.

There are also some major differences within the group. Helsingin Sanomat and Excélsior write a lot on economic and social rights but El Mercurio very little. Helsingin Sanomat writes a lot about the aims, aspiration, cultures and needs of all peoples, but Excélsior and El Mercurio almost not at all.

The second main group (still not considering the positive-neutral-negative factor) consists of three African newspapers: The Ethiopian Herald, The Ghanaian Times and Daily News (Tanzania). Their main common feature is that more than 15 percent of their stories are relevant to development. They also write much more about apartheid than the papers of the first group. Other human rights questions receive far less attention. Peace and war and disarmament appear in these newspapers as often as in the first group, but stories relevant to international understanding are somewhat rarer. Correlation coefficients between the papers are over 0.85. [Correlation coefficients between these three newspapers and the three

papers of the first group are within the range of 0.28 and 0.65.]

The two Namibian media, Windhoek Advertiser and SWABC, differ rather significantly from all the other media studied here, and they also differ from each other. Their only common feature is that they have many stories about foreign occupation, namely the presence of South Africa in Namibia. The only other topic which is well represented in Windhoek Advertiser is peace and war; on almost all other topics, coverage is in the region of five percent. SWABC concentrates very clearly on four topics, namely racialism, apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism and foreign occupation.

The odd man out is RTD, which has similarities with both main groups. Its news are often relevant to international understanding, to peace and war and to human rights (topics 2.1 and 2.2), but also to development, to aims, aspirations and cultures of all peoples and to apartheid.

Considering the distribution of stories into those positively, neutrally or negatively inclined to the aims of the Declaration (Table 4 on p. 44), some major shifts appear.

The Chilean daily El Mercurio falls out of group one, leaving only Helsingin Sanomat and Excélsior. El Mercurio's figure for negatively inclined relevancies is high (39.5 percent). It carries relatively many negatively inclined stories on international understanding, peace and war and civil and political rights, which are all given clearly positive coverage in Excélsior and Helsingin Sanomat.

The group of three African newspapers remains unchanged, with very strong positive inclination to the Declaration. RTD seems to have more in common with this group than with the first group. This is mostly due to the fact that it deals more with development than Helsingin Sanomat and Excélsior.

When the positive-neutral-negative dimension is taken into account, the two Namibian media show some similarities. This is mainly because of the fact that a great majority of their stories relevant to racialism, apartheid, colonialism and

foreign occupation are negatively inclined to the aims of the Declaration. Because of the negative inclination, the Chilean El Mercurio could also be placed into a third group together with the Namibian media.

In conclusion, this case study illustrates that Western media and the media of the Third World have rather different ways of covering topics relevant to the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO.

The two liberal Western media, Helsingin Sanomat (Finland) and Excélsior (Mexico), show similar features in this study. As a whole they are positively inclined to the aims of the Mass Media Declaration, but their main concern is nevertheless with hard news. Both are recognized as so-called prestige newspapers, and accordingly their main objective seems to be purely informative. They carry a lot of hard news about wars, relationships between states and peoples, human rights situations in different countries, etc.

The four African media, which in this study form a rather uniform group (The Ethiopian Herald, The Ghanaian Times, Daily News of Tanzania and Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam) are problem-oriented. They are all government-owned, and they tend to concentrate on development, apartheid, racial discrimination, arms race and disarmament. Their outspoken purpose is not only to inform, but also to "contribute effectively to the strengthening of peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights, and to the establishment of a more just and equitable international economic order" (Article VII of the Declaration).

It is reasonable to conclude that the policies of the three media which fall outside the two main groups derive largely from the local conditions. El Mercurio (Chile) might also have much in common with many other highly conservative newspapers all over the world. The two Namibian media rather naturally conform to the local political situation with the South African occupation and the apartheid system. Though not

government-owned, even Windhoek Advertiser largely reflects official views.

By and large, the case study showed that the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO can be 'operationalised' by laying down specific standards for the media performance and using them as yardsticks in a systematic appreciation of the media content. Doing this is far from simple and uncontroversial, but all the same it is possible. As a matter of fact, such a 'testing' of the Declaration is quite challenging, both with a view to theoretical conceptualisation and to practical journalism. As far as working journalists are concerned, they will no doubt benefit much more from concrete exercise of checking the principles against media content than from an ideological debate around UNESCO and its media policies.

TAMPEREEN YLIOPISTO
Tiedotusopin laitos

Elokuu 1987

Julkaisut 1980—

(Julkaisuja on ilmestynyt vuodesta 1969 lähtien)

Sarja A. ISSN 0358-4585

44/1981 Kim Weckström: PÄÄLAELLEEN KÄÄNNETTY TIETOISUUS. Lisensiaatintutkimus. **Painos lopussa.**

45/1981 Erkki Lehtilä & Kari Tyni: SANANVAPAUS IHMISOIKEUTENA.

46/1983 Merja Saarikoski: VIESTINTÄIMPERIALISMIN TEORIAN KRITIIKKIÄ ERITYISESTI HERBERT I. SCHILLERIN AJATUSMUOTOJEN KRITIIKKINA. Pro gradu -tutkielma. 22 mk.

47/1983 Ilkka Rentola: NORMAALIJOURNALISMIN SÄÄNNÖT. Yhdysvaltalaisen journalismin oppikirjallisuuden esittämän ihanneltyypin tarkastelua. Pro gradu -tutkielma.

48/1983 Pertti Alasuutari & Jorma Sihari: TYÖVÄESTÖ JA TELEVISIO. Sivulaudaturtutkielma.

49/1983 Seppo Aura: PALUU AKTIVOIVAAN ELOKUVAAN JA TELEVISIOON.

50/1983 Veerto Ruohonen: TIETO JA YHTEISYYS. Pro gradu -tutkielma.

51/1984 Hannu Nieminen: OBJEKTIIVISEN JA UUDEN JOURNALISMIN TODELLISUUSKÄSITYKSISTÄ. Pohdintoja journalismin teorioiden ympäriltä. Sivulaudaturtutkielma. 32 mk.

52/1985 Pertti Jalkanen: LUOKAT, HEGEMONIA JA SANOMALEHTI. Tutkielma Leninin julkisuuskäsityksistä ja journalismista pyrkimyksistä 1899—1914. Pro gradu -tutkielma. 29 mk.

53/1985 Juha Lehtonen & Tapani Luntola: MATKA INFORMAATIOYHTEISKUNTAAN. Pro gradu -tutkielma. 65 mk.

54/1986 Jorma Mäntylä: ANTONIO GRAMSCI, HEGEMONIA JA JOURNALISMI. Lisensiaatintutkielma. 29 mk.

55/1986 Ilkka Tervonen: OBJEKTIIVISUUS JA INFORMAATIIVISUUS. Journalismin vaihdellisen ominaisuuksien tarkastelua kahden käsitteen kautta. 31 mk.

56/1986 Erkki Aittola: VIIHTEESTÄ KÄYTTÖARVOINA. Postkopin vihkikäsitteiden kritiikkiä ja kehittelyä. Pro gradu -tutkielma. 25 mk.

57/1987 Juha Koivisto & Eva Viljanmaan: JULKISUUDEN VALTA. Jürgen Habermasin sekä Oskar Negtin ja Alexander Klugen julkisuusteorioiden tarkastelua. Pro gradu -tutkielma. 51 mk.

58/1987 Veli Holopainen: TOIMITTAJAN KANSAINVÄLINEN VASTUU. Joukkotiedotuksen sisältöä koskevat kansainvälisen oikeuden säännökset ja säännösten rikkominen kahdessa sanomalehdessä. Pro gradu -tutkielma. 36 mk.

59/1987 Riitta Kärki: FORMAALI TIETEELLINEN KOMMUNIKAATIO SUOMALAISESSA TIEDOTUSTUTKIMUKSESSA. Analyysi tiedotusopillisten artikkeleiden lähteistä 1970—1984. Pro gradu -tutkielma. 30 mk.

Sarja B, ISSN 0358-4151

1/1980 Taisto Hujanen: THE ROLE OF INFORMATION IN THE REALIZATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF MIGRANT WORKERS. **Painos lopussa.**

2/1980 Juhani Wiio: YHTEISKUNNAN RAKENNEMUUTOS JA TELEVISIO. Lyhennelmä lisensiaattitutkimuksesta.

3/1981 Leena Paldán & Kauko Pietilä (toim.): KANSALLINEN KULTTUURI. Kollokvioraportti. **Painos lopussa.**

4/1981 Heikki Hellman: AJATUSTEN MARSHALL-SUUNNITELMA. Katsaus 'kansainvälisen viestinnän' tutkimuksen kehityspiirteisiin ja sosiaalitekno-logisoitumiseen. 23 mk.

5/1981 Pirkko-Liisa Kastari: ANTTI CHYDENIUS JA PAINOVAPAUDEN AATE. Sivulaudaturtutkielma.

6/1981 Jyrki Pietilä: MUTKAN KAUTTA SUORAAN. Suomalaisen talouselämän suhdetoiminnan ja sen esimuotojen historiaa. Lyhennelmä lisensiaattitutkimuksesta. 18,80 mk.

7/1982 Leena Paldán & Kauko Pietilä (toim.): KULTTUURISEMINAARI SNELLMAN 1981. Seminaariraportti.

8/1982 SOCIAL ROLE OF MASS COMMUNICATION. Report of the second Finnish-Soviet seminar. **Painos lopussa.**

9/1983 Pertti Hemánus & Taisto Hujanen (red.): JOURNALISTIK UNDER FÖRVANDLING. Nordiska journalistlärarseminariet på Murikka 9—12 augusti 1982. Slutrapport. 14,50 mk.

10/1983 Tarmo Malmberg: ELOKUVAN KULTTUURIHISTORIAN PÄÄPIIRTEET. 23 mk.

11/1984 Kauko Pietilä (ed.): STUDIES OF COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA IN FINLAND. STATE OF THE ART.

12/1984 Taisto Hujanen (ed.): THE ROLE OF INFORMATION IN THE REALIZATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF MIGRANT WORKERS: REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, TAMPERE 19—22 JUNE 1983.

13/1984 CITY — WAY OF LIFE — MASS COMMUNICATION. Report of the third Finnish-Soviet seminar on problems of mass communication research.

14/1984 Tapio Varis: FLOW OF TELEVISION PROGRAMMES IN WESTERN EUROPE. Summary of the basic data during January 31—February 13, 1983.

15/1984 Tarmo Malmberg: JOURNALISMIKRITIIKKI. 34 mk.

16/1985 TWO SEMINARS ON IPDC. 13 mk.

17/1985 Lars Furhoff & Pertti Hemanus: NEW DIRECTIONS IN JOURNALISM RESEARCH.

18/1986 Taisto Hujanen (ed.): THE ROLE OF INFORMATION IN THE REALIZATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF MIGRANT WORKERS. 22 mk.

19/1986 CITY — WAY OF LIFE — SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF MASS COMMUNICATION. 25 mk.

20/1986 Wolfgang Kleinwächter & Kaarle Nordenstreng (ed.): INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND CONFIDENCE-BUILDING IN EUROPE. Report of the first Leipzig-Tampere seminar on confidence-building in the non-military field, Leipzig 14—15 May 1986. 28 mk.

21/1987 Ilkka Timonen & Riitta Kallio & Tuomo Mora: TSHERNOBYLIN VOIMALAONNETTOMUUS LEHDISTÖSSÄ. 30 mk.

Sarja C, ISSN 0358-4593

1/1981 Kauko Pietilä: JOURNALISMIN KRITIIKIN MAHDOLLISUUKSIA. Kuusi kirjoitusta vuosilta 1978—1981. 6,70 mk. **Painos lopussa.**

2/1981 Tarmo Malmberg: VIESTINTÄ JA KULTTUURI. Tekstejä viestinnän teorian ja tutkimuksen kulttuuriteoreettisista perusteista (1978—81). 12,90 mk. **Painos lopussa.**

3/1982 Veikko Pietilä: TIEDOTUSTUTKIMUS: TEITÄ JA TIENVIITTOJA. 23 mk.

4/1984 Tarmo Malmberg: VIESTINNÄN TEORIA JA TUTKIMUS. Tekstejä, 1981—1984. 26 mk.

6/1984 Matti Kinnunen: ASPECTS OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPER JOURNALISM. 6 mk.

7/1985 Kaarle Nordenstreng (toim.): 60 VUOTTA TOIMITTAJAKOULUTUSTA. II painos. 44 mk.

8/1986 Pertti Hemanus & Ilkka Tervonen: VAIHTOEHTOJOURNALISMI, MINKÄLAINEN VAIHTOEHTO? 10 mk.

Sarja D, ISSN 0358-4607

36/1983 Pertti Korpinen & Osmo Uosukainen: RADIO- JA TV-TEKNIIKAN PERUSTEET. **Painos lopussa.**

37/1985 VIESTINTÄPOLIITTISIA KANNANOTTOJA. 35 mk.

38/1986 Kari Ilmonen & Heikki Nikulin: UUSI VIESTINTÄTEKNIIKKA. 14 mk.

39/1986 Veikko Pietilä (toim.): KULTTUURI, KIELI, VIESTINTÄ. 14 mk.

40/1987 Jorma Mäntylä: PAIKALLISRADIOJOURNALISMIN PERUSTEITA. 14 mk.

Sarja E, ISSN 0358-4615

1/1981 SUOMALAISEN TIEDOTUSTUTKIMUKSEN BIBLIOGRAFIA VI. 21,40 mk.

2/1982 SUOMALAISEN TIEDOTUSTUTKIMUKSEN BIBLIOGRAFIA VII. 19,60 mk.

3/1983 SUOMALAISEN TIEDOTUSTUTKIMUKSEN BIBLIOGRAFIA VIII. 37,10 mk.

4/1984 SUOMALAISEN TIEDOTUSTUTKIMUKSEN BIBLIOGRAFIA IX. 36 mk.

5/1985 Maija Jussilainen (toim.): TIEDOTUSOPPIA KIRJASTOISSA JA TIETOKANNOISSA. Luettelo kirjastoista, kausijulkaisuista ja tietokannoista. 23 mk.

6/1985 SUOMALAISEN TIEDOTUSTUTKIMUKSEN BIBLIOGRAFIA X. 37 mk.

7/1986 COMMUNICATION RESEARCH INSTITUTES IN FINLAND 1986.

8/1986 TIEDOTUSTUTKIMUSTA JA VIESTINNÄN TUTKIMUSTA HARJOITTAVIA LAITOKSIA SUOMESSA. 24 mk.

9/1986 SUOMALAISEN TIEDOTUSTUTKIMUKSEN BIBLIOGRAFIA XI. 40 mk.

10/1987 ONGOING RESEARCH IN COMMUNICATION / MASS COMMUNICATION IN FINLAND 1987. 17 mk.

Julkaisuja, joihin on merkitty hinta, myyvät
— Tampereen yliopisto / julkaisujen myynti, PL 617, 33101 Tampere, puh. (931) 156 055
— Juvenes Oy / Yliopiston paperikauppa, Kalevantie 4, 33100 Tampere, puh. (931) 218 18

Julkaisusarjojen ulkopuolella ilmestyvät

SISÄLLÖT 1985—. Ulkomaisten tiedotusopillisten aikakauslehtien sisällysluetteloita. Ilmainen. Tilaukset NORDICOM, Tampereen yliopisto, PL 617, 33101 Tampere, puh. (931) 157 045.

TIEDOTUSTUTKIMUS 1978—. Tiedotusopillisen yhdistyksen ja NORDICOMin julkaisema tieteellinen aikakauslehti. Tilaukset Tiedotusopillinen yhdistys, PL 342, 33101 Tampere.